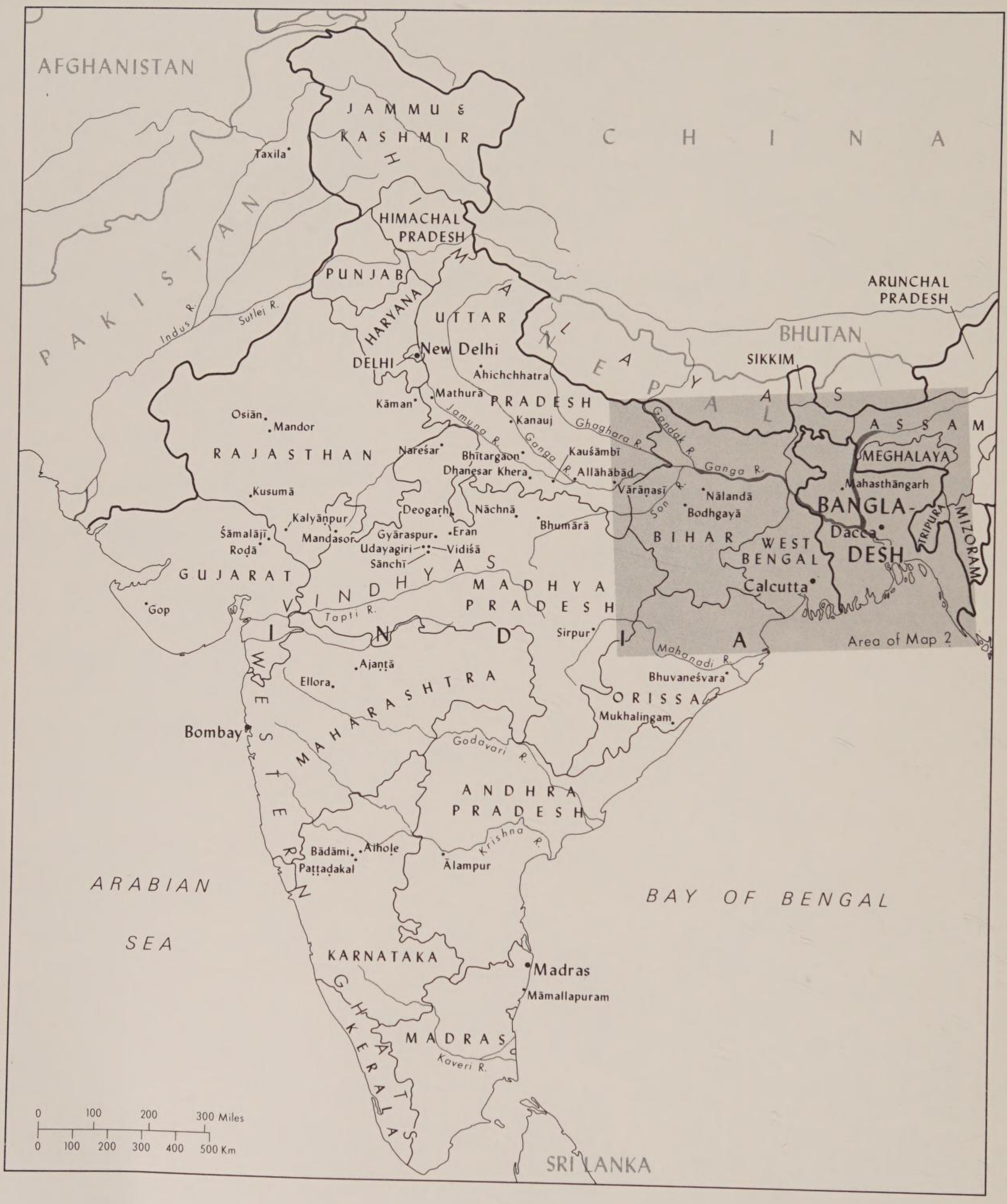
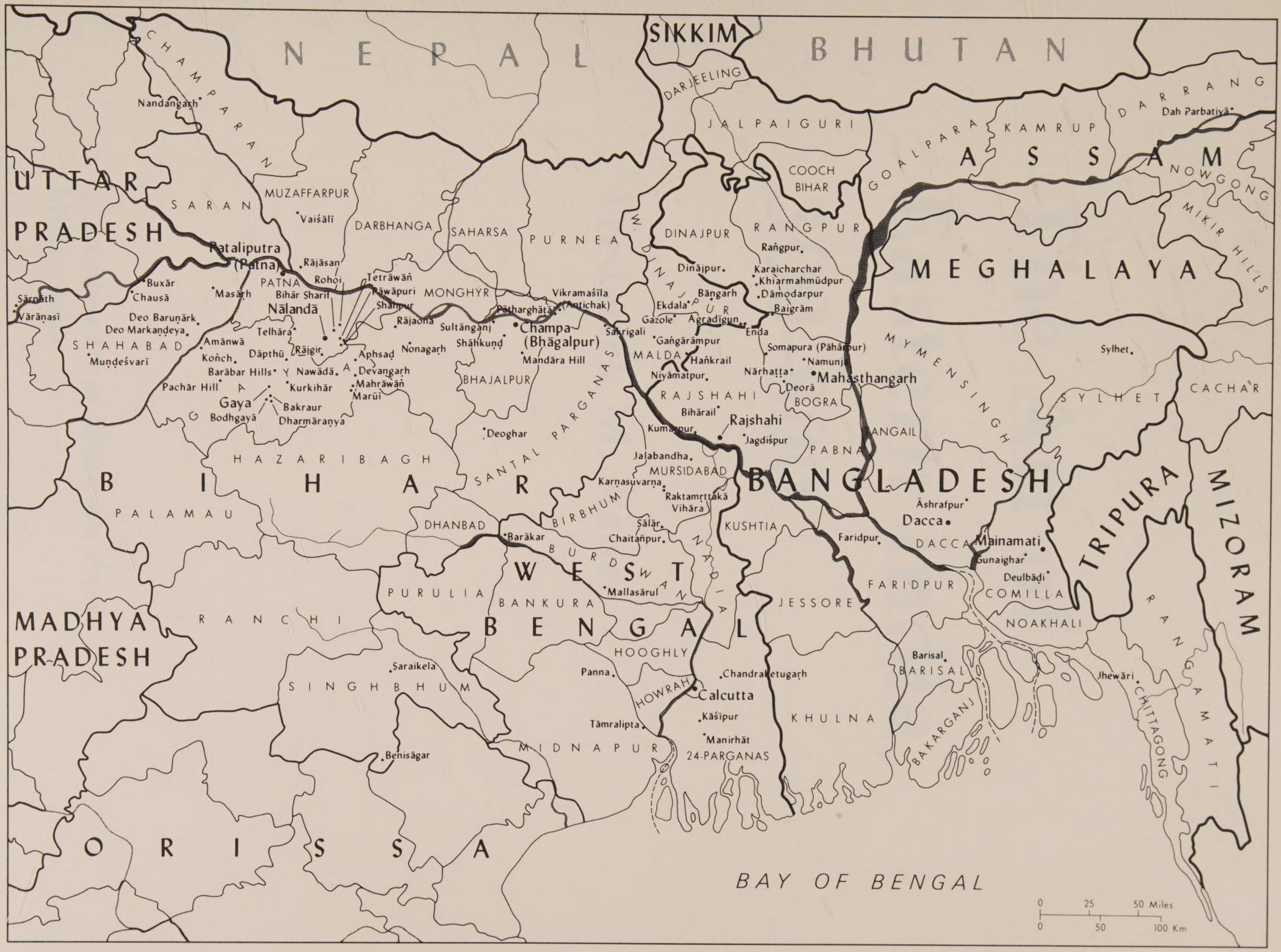
SHOUT
SHARE
IT

The Art of Eastern India, 300-800


AFGHANISTAN
CHINA
PAKISTAN
Indus R.
Sutlej R.
Taxila
JAMMU & KASHMIR
HIMACHAL PRADESH
PUNJAB
HARYANA
UTTAR PRADESH
New Delhi
DELHI
Ahichchhatra
Mathurā
Kāman
Osiān
Mandor
Kanauj
Jamuna R.
Ganga R.
Ghaghara R.
Gandak R.
RAJASTHAN
Nareśar
Bhītargaon
Kauśāmbī
Dhanesar Khera
Allāhābād
Vārāṇasī
Son R.
Nālandā
Bodhgayā
Kusumā
Deogarh
Nāchnā
Bhumārā
Kalyāṇpur
Śāmalājī
Roḍā
Mandasor
Gyāraspur
Eran
Udayagiri
Vidiśā
Sānchī
GUJARAT
VINDHYAS
MADHYA PRADESH
BIHAR
WEST BENGAL
Calcutta
Gop
Tapti R.
Sirpur
Mahanadi R.
Ajaṇṭā
Ellora
MAHARASHTRA
Bhuvaneśvara
ORISSA
Mukhalingam
Bombay
Godavari R.
ANDHRA PRADESH
Bādāmi
Aihoḷe
Paṭṭaḍakal
Ālampur
Krishna R.
ARABIAN SEA
BAY OF BENGAL
KARNATAKA
Madras
Māmallapuram
MADRAS
Kaveri R.
SRI LANKA
ARUNCHAL PRADESH
BHUTAN
SIKKIM
NEPAL
ASSAM
MEGHALAYA
Mahasthāngarh
BANGLA-DESH
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
Dacca
Area of Map 2
0 100 200 300 Miles
0 100 200 300 400 500 Km


NEPAL
SIKKIM
BHUTAN
CHAMPARAN
Nandangarh
DARJEELING
JALPAIGURI
DARRANG
Dah Parbatiyā
GOALPARA
KAMRUP
ASSAM
NOWGONG
MIKIR HILLS
UTTAR PRADESH
SARAN
MUZAFFARPUR
Vaiśālī
DARBHANGA
SAHARSA
PURNEA
COOCH BIHAR
DINAJPUR
RANGPUR
Rangpur
Dinājpur
Karaicharchar
Khiarmahmūdpur
Dāmodarpur
Baigrām
Bāngarh
Ekdala
Agradīgun
Gazole
Enda
MEGHALAYA
Pataliputra (Patna)
Rājāsan
Rohoi
Tetrāwāñ
Pāwāpuri
Shāhpur
PATNA
Bihār Sharif
MONGHYR
Vikramaśīla (Antichak)
Pātharghāṭā
Nālandā
Rājaona
Sultānganj
Champa (Bhāgalpur)
Mandāra Hill
Shāhkuṇḍ
Nonagarh
Aphsaḍ
Devangarh
Mahrāwāñ
Marūi
Buxār
Chausā
Masāṛh
Sārnāth
Vārāṇasī
Deo Baruṇārk
Deo Markaṇḍeya
Telhāra
Amānwā
Koṅch
Dāpthū
Rājgir
Barābar Hills
Nawādā
Pachār Hill
Kurkihār
Gaya
Bakraur
Bodhgayā
Dharmāraṇya
Muṇḍeśvarī
SHAHABAD
GAYA
Sahrigali
Gaṅgārāmpur
Somapura (Pāhārpur)
Namunja
Mahāsthangarh
Sylhet
MYMENSINGH
MALDA
Haṅkrail
Niyāmatpur
Nārhaṭṭa
Deorā
BHAJALPUR
RAJSHAHI
BOGRA
SYLHET
CACHAR
Bihārail
Rajshahi
Kumarpur
Jagdiśpur
Deoghar
SANTAL PARGANAS
PABNA
ANGAIL
HAZARIBAGH
BIHAR
Jalabandha
MURSIDABAD
Karṇasuvarṇa
Raktamṛttikā Vihāra
BANGLADESH
PALAMAU
DHANBAD
BIRBHUM
Śālār
Chaitañpur
KUSHTIA
Āshrafpur
Dacca
Faridpur
DACCA
Mainamati
Barākar
Gunaighar
Deulbāḍi
WEST BENGAL
PURULIA
BANKURA
Mallasārul
FARIDPUR
COMILLA
JESSORE
TRIPURA
MIZORAM
MADHYA PRADESH
RANCHI
NOAKHALI
HOOGHLY
Barisal
BARISAL
Saraikela
SINGHBHUM
Panna
Chandraketugarh
Jhewāri
CHITTAGONG
RANGAMATI
HOWRAH
Calcutta
Kāśīpur
KHULNA
Tāmralipta
Manirhāt
BAKARGANJ
MIDNAPUR
24-PARGANAS
Benisāgar
ORISSA
BAY OF BENGAL
0 25 50 Miles
0 50 100 Km

The Art of Eastern India, 300-800

Frederick M. Asher

The University of Minnesota Press
Minneapolis

**Publication of this book was assisted by a grant
from the publications program of the National Endowment
for the Humanities, an independent federal agency.**

Copyright © 1980 by the University of Minnesota
All rights reserved
Published by the University of Minnesota Press
2037 University Avenue Southeast
Minneapolis, Minnesota 55414
Printed at the North Central Publishing Company, St. Paul
United States of America
Edition for South Asia published by
Oxford University Press, Delhi
by arrangement with the University of Minnesota Press

Library of Congress Cataloging in Publication Data
Asher, Frederick M
The art of Eastern India, 300–800.
Bibliography: p.
Includes index.
1. Sculpture, Hindu—India—Bihar (State)
2. Sculpture—India—Bihar (State) 3. Sculpture,
Hindu—Bengal. 4. Sculpture—Bengal.
5. Sculpture, Hindu—Bangladesh. 6. Sculpture—
Bangladesh. I. Title.
NB1007.B55A84 732'.44'1 80-10352
ISBN 0-8166-0975-6

The University of Minnesota
is an equal-opportunity
educator and employer.

Acknowledgments

In village after village in India images are preserved, some in temples and others in the open or even partially buried in the ground. On seeing for the first time an image unknown to any scholar, I often felt that I had "discovered" it. But I soon came to realize that, in truth, it had always been known to faithful devotees. I am grateful to those who shared with me their revered images and allowed me to photograph them so that they could be documented in scholarly fashion.

There are many others who merit thanks. To the directors and curators of museums who permitted me to study sculptures in storage collections, to examine museum records, and to disrupt the normal workings of their institution while I photographed sculptures in the galleries, I owe great thanks. Parameshwari Lal Gupta of the Patna Museum, Enamul Haque of the Dacca Museum, Mukhlesur Rahman of the Rajshahi Museum, and A. K. Bhattacharya of the Indian Museum, Calcutta were particularly helpful. So too were the staff of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Department of Archaeology in Bangladesh, who extended generous permission to work at their protected sites and granted many special courtesies that made my work a great deal easier. The use of old photographs that they supplied — some of them included in this book — provide otherwise unavailable views of monuments. I am also indebted to the Director of Archaeology in West Bengal and the Director of Museums and Archaeology in Bihar for much assistance. At the British Museum, where the collection of Eastern Indian sculpture is unparalleled outside of South Asia, Wladimir Zwalf rendered enormously helpful assistance and scholarly counsel. Many others in India, Bangladesh, Europe, and the United States provided access to material and valuable advice. I am grateful to all of them.

The National Endowment for the Humanities provided a grant that made much of the fieldwork in India and Bangladesh possible. Funds were also granted by the Graduate School and the Office of International Programs at the University of Minnesota. In addition, I am grateful to the Director of the American Institute of Indian Studies for facilitating much of my work in India and to the Associate Directors of the Institute's Center for Art and Archaeology in Varanasi. The good friends I found among the Center staff have continued to prove as valuable to me as the excellent collection of books and photographs there. In particular, M. A. Dhaky, now the Center's Associate Director (Research), remains a good and much respected friend with whom I have discussed many ideas. I also had the good fortune of working with Dr. Anand Krishna of Banaras Hindu University, who provided excellent help and guidance. Perhaps most appropriately placed at the head of this list of acknowledgements is Professor Pramod Chandra at the University of Chicago. He served as my graduate mentor and directed my thesis on the sixth, seventh, and eighth-century sculptures of Bihar, the study from which this book evolved.

The work also benefitted from excellent libraries that I had the good fortune of using: The South Asia Library at the University of Chicago, where the research began, the libraries of the Asiatic Society in Calcutta and the Archaeological Survey of India in New Delhi, and the National Library of India. I especially benefitted from the outstanding facilities of the Ames Library of South Asia at the University of Minnesota, and I am indebted to the Ames staff for considerable help.

Many of the photographs in this book were printed by John and Susan Huntington of Ohio State University; the results are due in large measure to their familiarity with the material. Susan Huntington especially merits my gratitude

for meticulously reading the manuscript and providing excellent, incisive suggestions that I happily include. I am grateful to my colleague, Joseph Schwartzberg, who generously gave many hours to the preparation of maps for the book and to Nancy Cooper, who prepared the plans. Thanks, too, are due the staff of the University of Minnesota Press. Carol Masters, who edited the manuscript, patiently dealt with much rough writing. Others at the Press provided a great deal of assistance and advice. I especially enjoyed working closely with Lindsay Waters in the early stages of the book and later with Beverly Kaemmer and Robert Taylor on the production. No writer could hope to work with a more helpful and congenial staff.

Above all, I take pleasure in acknowledging the assistance of my wife, Cathy. She accompanied me to India the day following our wedding and cheerfully trekked with me across fields in Bihar from one village to another. On that trip and subsequent ones, she provided companionship and increasingly skillful assistance, quickly developing into a mature scholar in her own right. To Cathy I dedicate this book with thanks and love.

Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction 3

Eastern Indian School of Art . . . 4
Geography . . . 5
Some Problems of Method . . . 6
Introduction to the Art . . . 7
Eastern Indian Art:
Third-First Centuries B.C. . . . 10
Eastern Indian Art:
Age of the Kuṣāṇas . . . 10

Chapter 2: The Gupta Age 13

Historical Introduction . . . 13
Fa Hsian: Eastern India in the Gupta Age . . . 14
Inscriptional Evidence for Art . . . 15
Early Gupta Sculpture: Magadha . . . 16
Early Gupta Sculpture: Bengal . . . 20
Mature Gupta Art . . . 21
Mature Gupta Sculpture:
Rājgir-Nālandā Area . . . 22
Mature Gupta Sculpture:
Gayā Area . . . 27
Mature Gupta Sculpture:
The Gaṅgā Valley . . . 29
Mature Gupta Sculpture: Bengal . . . 31

Chapter 3: Growth of the Style (c. 550–700) 35

Historical Introduction . . . 35
Hsuan Tsang . . . 36
Approach to Art, 550–700 . . . 37
Shāhābād District . . . 38
Gayā Area . . . 42
Rājgir-Nālandā Area . . . 46
The Gaṅgā Valley . . . 52
Singhbhūm District . . . 59
West and North Bengal . . . 60
Southeast Bengal . . . 63
Assam . . . 65
Summary . . . 66

Chapter 4: Bridge to Pāla Art (c. 700–800) 69

Historical Introduction . . . 69
Introduction to the Art . . . 70
Shāhābād District . . . 71
Gayā Area . . . 75
Nālandā-Rājgir Area . . . 80
The Gaṅgā Valley . . . 87
Singhbhūm District . . . 90
West and North Bengal . . . 91
Southeast Bengal . . . 98
Summary . . . 100

Chapter 5: Concluding Remarks 102

Notes 107

Bibliography 127

Index 140

List of Plates

Plate 1. Double-sided Vṛkṣadevatā. In Nayatola Village, Patna District.
Plate 2. Bodhisattva Torso. From Kumrahar, Patna District.
Plate 3. Kārttikeya. From Mahāsthāngaṛh.
Plate 4. Pārśvanātha. From Mahābīr Ghāṭ, Patna.
Plate 5. Detail of Patna Pārśvanātha.
Plate 6. Ṛṣabhanātha. From Chausā, Shāhābād District.
Plate 7. Tīrthaṅkara. From Chausā, Shāhābād District.
Plate 8. Balarāma. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District.

Plate 9. Vāsudeva. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District.

Plate 10. Ekānaṁśā. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District.

Plate 11. Buddha, Inscribed in Year 64. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 12. Viṣṇu. From Hāṅkrail, Mālda District.

Plate 13. Sūrya. From Kumārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 14. Sūrya. From Niyāmatpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 15. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 16. Tīrthaṅkaras. Carved on Lower Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 17. Maṇiyār Maṭh. Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 18. Stucco Viṣṇu. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 19. Stucco Śiva Naṭarāja. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 20. Stucco Nāgī. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 21. Railing Pillar Medallion. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 22. Railing Pillar. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 23. Stucco Figures. Beneath Vajrāsana Slab, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 24. Standing Buddha. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 25. Buddha Head. From Kumrahar, Patna District.

Plate 26. Viṣṇu. From Patna City, Patna District.

Plate 27. Pillars from Śiva Temple. Rājaona, Monghyr District.

Plate 28. Detail of Pillar Showing Śiva and Pārvatī on Kailāsa. From Rājaona, Monghyr District.

Plate 29. Detail of Pillar Showing Śiva Receiving Gaṅgā. From Rājaona, Monghyr District.

Plate 30. Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 31. Varāha. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 32. Narasiṁha. Shāhkuṇḍ, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 33. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 34. Kṛṣṇa Raising Mount Govardhaha. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 35. Kṛṣṇa Wrestling with Cāṇūra. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 36. Standing Buddha. From Bihārail, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 37. Viṣṇu. From Nārhaṭṭa, Bogra District.

Plate 38. Cakrapuruṣa. From Sālār, Murśidābād District.

Plate 39. Terracotta Head. From Panna, Midnapur District.

Plate 40. Stucco Head. Chaḍpādā, Murśidābād District.

Plate 41. Terracotta Sūrya. Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 42. Śiva temple. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 43. Śiva temple interior. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 44. Śiva temple from southwest. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 45. South door of Śiva temple. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 46. Śiva temple from west. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 47. Door Guardian. South doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 48. Door Guardian. West doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 49. Sūrya. West doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 50. Liṅga. From interior of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 51. Kārttikeya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 52. Hari-Hara. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 53. Agni. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 54. Gaṇeśa. On Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 55. Mātṛkā. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 56. Mātṛkā. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 57. Sūrya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 58. Kārttikeya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 59. Pārvatī. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 60. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 61. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. View of reverse.

Plate 62. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 63. Buddha. Probably from Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 64. Indrāṇī. Probably from Amānwā, Gayā District.

Plate 65. Viṣṇu. Installed outside modern Viṣṇu temple, Koṅch, Gayā District.

Plate 66. Revanta. From Pacār Hill, Gayā District.

Plate 67. Great Stūpa, Site No. 3. View from northeast, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 68. Stucco Standing Buddha. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 69. Stucco Seated Buddha. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 70. Stucco Standing Avalokiteśvara. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 71. Stucco Seated Mañjuśrī. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 72. Stone Temple Plinth, Site No. 2. View from southeast, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 73. Standing Male Figure. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 74. Mālādhara. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 75. Panels. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 76. Panel with Gandharvas. From platform of monastery court, Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 77. Detail of panel with Gandharvas.

Plate 78. Seated Buddha. From Tetrāwāṅ, Patna District.

Plate 79. Seated Buddha. From Telhāra, Patna District.

Plate 80. Seated Neminātha. Outside Temple 1, Ratnagiri, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 81. Seated Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 82. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. Found in Lower Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 83. Stucco panels of temple plinth. Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 84. Rāma Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa with Guru. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 85. Rāma and Sītā Beneath Tree. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 86. Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa Crossing the Waters. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 87. Varāha. Now in modern temple, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 88. Viṣṇu. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 89. Cakrapuruṣa. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 90. Lower Torso of Sūrya. Outside of Varāha Shrine, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 91. Cakrapuruṣa. From Marūī, Gayā District.

Plate 92. Reverse of Cakrapuruṣa from Marūī.

Plate 93. Cakrapuruṣa. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District.

Plate 94. Reverse of Cakrapuruṣa from Mahrāwāṅ.

Plate 95. Kārttikeya. Installed in Hari Kaṭorā temple, Vaiśāli, Muzaffarpur District.

Plate 96. Metal Buddha. From Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 97. Detail of Sultānganj Buddha.

Plate 98. Buddha Head. From Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 99. Metal Buddha. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 100. Metal Buddha. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 101. Viṣṇu. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 102. Viṣṇu. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 103. Male Deity. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 104. Viṣṇu. From Chaitānpur, Burdwān District.

Plate 105. Sūrya. Kāśipur, 24 Parganas District.

Plate 106. Sūrya. Deorā, Bogra District.

Plate 107. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 108. Pillar. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 109. Pillar. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 110. Stūpas of the Koṭilā Murā. Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 111. Stone Plaque from Koṭilā Murā. Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 112. Stone Plaque from Koṭilā Murā. Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 113. Metal Sarvāṇī, dedicated by Prabhāvatī, Queen of Devakhaḍga. From Deulbādī, Comilla District.

Plate 114. Metal Sūrya. From Deulbāḍī, Comilla District.

Plate 115. Temple Doorway. Dah Parbatiyā, Tezpur District.

Plate 116. Detail of Dah Parbatiyā Doorway.

Plate 117. Temple Doorway. From Buxār, Shāhābād District.

Plate 118. Detail of Buxār Doorway.

Plate 119. Temple Doorway. Now entrance to modern shrine in Mahābodhi temple compound, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 120. Viṣṇu. From Masāṛh, Shāhābād District.

Plate 121. Pillar Base. In compound of Śrī Bhagavati Mandir, Masāṛh, Shāhābād District.

Plate 122. Pillar Capital. In compound of Śrī Bhagavati Mandir, Masāṛh, Shāhābād District.

Plate 123. Pillar Base. Before entrance of Muṇḍeśvarī temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 124. Pillar bearing Jīvitagupta inscription. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 125. Dhvajastambha. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 126. Detail of Grahas on Deo Baruṇārk Dhvajastambha.
Plate 127. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 128. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 129. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 130. Umā-Maheśvara. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 131. Umā-Maheśvara. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District.
Plate 132. Viṣṇu. Deo Markaṇḍeya, Shāhābād District.
Plate 133. Viṣṇu. Deo Markaṇḍeya, Shāhābād District.
Plate 134. Toraṇa. In front of Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 135. Detail of Bodhgayā Toraṇa.
Plate 136. Buddha. Above entrance of Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 137. Buddha. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 138. Buddha. Probably from Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 139. Buddha. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 140. Buddha. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 141. Buddha. Installed in niche at right of entrance to Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 142. Four-armed Padmapāṇi. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 143. Gilt Metal Buddha. From Kurkihār, Gayā District.
Plate 144. Aparājitā. From Pachār Hill, Gayā District.
Plate 145. Mañjuśrī. From Gayā District.
Plate 146. Buddha. Probably from Gayā District.
Plate 147. Lokanātha. Probably from Gayā District.
Plate 148. Umā-Maheśvara. Enshrined in modern Śiva temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District.
Plate 149. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in modern Viṣṇu temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District.
Plate 150. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in modern Rāmacandra temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District.
Plate 151. Balarāma. Enshrined in Maṅgla Ghori temple, Gayā, Gayā District.
Plate 152. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in wall of Mataṅgavāpī temple, Bakraur, Gayā District.
Plate 153. Cakrapuruṣa. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 154. Reverse of Bodhgayā Cakrapuruṣa.
Plate 155. Viṣṇu. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 156. Sūrya. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.
Plate 157. Viṣṇu. From Viṣṇupad temple, Gayā District.
Plate 158. Viṣṇu. From Kṛṣṇa Dvārkā temple, Gayā, Gayā District.
Plate 159. Viṣṇu. In front of modern Viṣṇu temple, Koṅch, Gayā District.
Plate 160. Eka Mukha Liṅga. In front of Koṅcheśvara temple, Koṅch, Gayā District.
Plate 161. Lokanātha. From Site No. 12, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 162. Lokanātha. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 163. Avalokiteśvara. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 164. Mañjuśrī. From Site No. 8. Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 165. Mañjuśrī Torso. Probably from Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 166. Mañjuśrī. Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 167. Sarasvātī. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 168. Nāgarāja. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 169. Gilt Metal Buddha. From Site No. 8, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 170. Gilt Metal Avalokiteśvara. From Site No. 8, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 171. Metal Mañjuśrī. From Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 172. Metal Flag-Bearing Bodhisattva. From Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 173. Metal Lokanātha. Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 174. Stone Lokanātha. Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 175. Metal Stūpa. From Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 176. Metal Pārvatī. From Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 177. Metal Balarāma, dedicated during reign of Devapāla. From Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 178. Metal Balarāma, dedicated in 9th year of Devapāla's reign. From Kurkihār, Gayā District.
Plate 179. Metal Buddha. From Site No. 9, Nālandā, Patna District.
Plate 180. Buddha. From Tetrāwāṅ, Patna District.
Plate 181. Buddha. Probably from Rājgir-Nālandā Area.
Plate 182. Ṛṣabhanātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District.
Plate 183. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District.
Plate 184. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 185. Umā-Maheśvara. Probably from Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 186. Umā-Maheśvara. Probably from Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 187. Kubera. From Rohoi, Patna District.

Plate 188. Varāha. From Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 189. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. From Begampur, Patna District.

Plate 190. Viṣṇu. From Dāpthū, Gayā District.

Plate 191. Gaḍādevī. From Dāpthū, Gayā District.

Plate 192. Viṣṇu. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District.

Plate 193. Viṣṇu Bust. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District.

Plate 194. Sūrya. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 195. Viṣṇu. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

Plate 196. Viṣṇu. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 197. Viṣṇu. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 198. Sūrya. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 199. Umā-Maheśvara. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 200. Ṛṣabhanātha. From Champāpur, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 201. Ṛṣabhanātha. From Champāpur, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 202. Sūrya. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 203. Kārttikeya. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 204. Caturmukha Liṅga. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 205. Śiva Head. Provenance unrecorded.

Plate 206. Mātṛkā Indrāṇī. From Saraikela, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 207. Mātṛkā Vaiṣṇavī. From Saraikela, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 208. Dakṣa Prajāpati. From Saraikela, Singhbhūm District.

Plate 209. Stūpa of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. General view from north, Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 210. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 211. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhagālpur District.

Plate 212. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 213. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 214. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 215. Stūpa of Somapura Mahāvihāra. General view from east, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 216. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 217. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 218. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 219. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 220. Balarāma. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 221. Indra. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 222. Yāma. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 223. Śiva. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 224. Kṛṣṇa Fighting Keśi. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 225. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 226. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Detail of Śikara, Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 227. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Detail of Śikhara reliefs, Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 228. Gilt Metal Bodhisattva. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 229. Metal Avalokiteśvara. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 230. Metal Viṣṇu. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 231. Metal Viṣṇu. Probably from Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 232. Buddha. From Bāsu Bihār, Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District.

Plate 233. Gaja-Lakṣmī. From Namunja, Bogra District.

Plate 234. Viṣṇu. From Khiarmahmūdpur, Dināpur District.

Plate 235. Viṣṇu. From Karaicharchar, Dināpur District.

Plate 236. Viṣṇu. From Gazole, Mālda District.

Plate 237. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. From Agradīgun, West Dināpur District.

Plate 238. Cakrapuruṣa. Enda, West Dināpur District.

Plate 239. Metal Viṣṇu. From Kumārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 240. Mahiṣamarddiṇī. From Gaṅgārāmpur, Mālda District.

Plate 241. Door Jamb. From Sakrigali, Santal Parganas District.

Plate 242. Viṣṇu Torso. From Jalabandha, Murśidābād District.

Plate 243. Hari-Hara. From Burdwān District.

Plate 244. Viṣṇu. From Khulna District.

Plate 245. Temple of Salban Vihāra. View from northwest, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 246. Terracotta Panels of Salban Vihāra temple. Southeast corner of eastern projection, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 247. Bronze Mañjuśrī. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 248. Bronze Padmapani. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 249. Bronze Mañjuśrī. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 250. Bronze Tārā. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 251. Bronze Sitātapatrā. From Comilla District.

Plate 252. Bronze Śiva-Lokeśvara. From Barisal, Bakarganj District.

Plate 253. Bronze Lokanātha. Sylhet, Sylhet District.

The Art of Eastern India, 300-800

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

> . . . outside the walls is a figure of Buddha standing upright and made of copper. Its height is about 80 feet. A pavilion of six stages is required to cover it. It was formerly made by Pūrṇavarma-rāja.

Thus the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang described an impressive image at the monastery of Nālandā. He tells us what it is, when it was made, and where it stood. All that is lacking to complete the picture of its original state is a description of the veneration that it was accorded, much as he provides for a nearby sculpture:

> Every feast-day of the year large offerings are made to it. The kings and ministers and great people of the neighbouring countries offer exquisite perfumes and flowers, holding gem-covered flags and canopies, whilst instruments of metal and stone resound in turns, mingled with the harmony of flutes and harps.

Far removed from its original context, isolated, for example, in a museum, no Indian sculpture can retain its full impact. The artist was well aware of the setting in which his image would be placed and worked to evolve a figure that would most poignantly convey the proper meaning to a devotee. To best do this, the Indian artist followed detailed prescriptions for both the image's iconography and form. Still, the prescriptions did not result in static imagery, so must have served as a guide, not a restriction. The creative artist could easily give vent to his imagination in the image's embellishment. The resulting detail, increasingly evident through the ages, conveys part of the image's impact.

In addition to their sacred function, the images play an enormously important role in providing the modern scholar with insights into India's past. Historical inscriptions are few, and literature — undated in any event — presents the additional problem of subsequent insertions, as it was preserved largely in oral fashion. But sculptural imagery is the tangible and unaltered product of mankind's past. We may use sculptures to draw inferences, not only about art, but about a full range of human thought and activity, including history and geography.

A good case in point is the great bronze Buddha image from Sultānganj (Plate 96), the largest surviving metal sculpture in India. Though a magnificent image by any standard, the questions we address have little to do with aesthetics, more with attempting to put the image back in its context. For example, its date is widely disputed. Some believe that it was made as early as the fifth century, that is, in the Gupta period; others assign it to the eighth or ninth century, in the opening years of Pāla times. In this study, it is assigned to the seventh century, that is, in the all too often neglected period between the two dynasties. Resolving the sculpture's date is not merely an end in itself, but pertains directly to its relationship with contemporary images and to its historical context. Thus the Sultānganj Buddha tells us that large-size bronze sculptures were a feature of imagery whenever it was made. If it dates to the Gupta period or even to the seventh century, that is especially consequential, because large numbers of bronzes, even small ones, are not known until the beginning of Pāla times. It also tells us that whenever the sculpture was made, a sanctuary and almost surely a monastery extisted at Sultānganj. The name of the site is modern, but what, we may ask, was its ancient name, and how did the place relate to the important city of Champā, probably identical with the modern town of Bhāgalpur just twelve miles east? If the image was made in the seventh century or earlier, did the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang see it in the course of his journey? Can it be related to any monastery that he described? Was the site located on a route of trade and pilgrimage, or conversely

can the findspot help us reconstruct a route and note changes from routes used earlier? Finally, we may ask about the artists. To inquire about their names, birthdates, or personalities would be out of the question, as no meaningful evidence is preserved about ancient Indian artists. But we can gain insights into how the artists worked, where they were centered, and where they traveled in the course of their work. Such insights might also provide a model for understanding the members of other professions, who have left behind no tangible evidence comparable to the works of artists.

All the conclusions we draw are considerably less certain than they would be if we had written documents that stated incontrovertibly that such and such happened at this or that time in India's past. But such documents are precious few. We may use the art as a viable substitute: A bit of imagination brought to the monuments permits them to reveal a great deal.

Eastern Indian School of Art

The Tibetan Lama Tāranātha, in his early seventeenth-century work on the *History of Buddhism in India*, wrote about a new school of art founded during the reigns of Dharmapāla (c. 783–818) and Devapāla (c. 818–858),[1] that is, near the beginning of the Pāla dynasty:

> During the time of king Devapāla and Śrī Dharmapāla, there lived a highly skilled artist called Dhīmān in the Varendra region. His son was called Bitpalo. These two followed the tradition of the Nāga artists and practiced various techniques like those of metal-casting, engraving and painting. The tradition of the technique of the father became different from that of the son. The son used to live in Baṃgala. The cast-images made by the followers of both of them were called the eastern icons, wherever these followers might have been born.[2]

Although Tāranātha's account was written 800 eyars after the early Pāla period, several writers have accepted it as accurate instead of a mythical explanation of artistic developments during the first decades of Pāla rule. Thus they have essentially presumed that a new school of art was invented in Eastern India at this time. For example, R. D. Banerji concluded:

> A prolonged examination of the medieval sculptures found in the North-Eastern provinces of India leads one to the conclusion that a new school of sculpture rose in these provinces in the later part of the medieval period (800–1200). Further investigations prove that the date of the rise of this school synchronized with the formation of a new empire in the eastern half of Northern India by Dharmapāla. . . .''[3]

And Pranabrajan Ray, taking the writings of Tāranātha still more literally, concluded:

> Of greater significance are the names Dhīmān and Bitpalo, the two artists, who flourished in Varendra during the reign of Devapāla and Dharmapāla, who were, by implication, the innovators of the Pāla idiom of sculpture and painting. But from known examples of the Pāla period, sculptures and tempera paintings on wooden manuscript covers, it is very difficult to notice any difference between the father's and the son's stylistic structures.[4]

In truth, however, these artists may well be mythical figures as they are known only from Tāranātha, not from any Pāla-period source. What is more important is that the roles that Tāranātha has assigned to them underscore his belief, shared by many modern writers as well, that a new school of art was invented in the early Pāla period. However, a reasonably large corpus of pre-Pāla sculptures, the core of this study, shows a continuous development from the introduction of figural art in Eastern India, many centuries before the Pāla period.

The sculptural remains in Eastern India dating before the Pāla period are few by contrast to those of subsequent centuries, but their relative scarcity is no reason to ignore them. Moreover, the remains are considerably more numerous than often believed, even by scholars who have devoted primary attention to the art of this region. For example, R. D. Banerji, before he wrote his monumental study of Eastern Indian sculpture, acknowledged an Eastern Indian school of the Gupta period, which he labeled rather inaccurately the Pāṭaliputra School of Gupta Sculpture, but noted that ''The remains, except at Nālandā, are few.''[5] Later, in his *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, Banerji could assign hardly a dozen images to the years between the beginning of the Gupta period and the establishment of the Pāla dynasty.[6]

Although Tāranātha seems to imply that a new school of art was established in Pāla times, he must have been aware of earlier art in Eastern India, as a rarely cited passage in his writings shows:

> During the period of Buddha-pakṣa there lived an artist called Bimbasāra, who produced the most wonderful architectural sculptures and paintings: these could be compared to those of the celestial artists of the earlier period. Numerous artists became his followers. This artist was born in Magadha. Therefore, the artists following his school were said to belong to the school of the *madhyadeśa* art, wherever they might have been born.[7]

Tāranātha, following the traditional Buddhist view, takes Madhyadeśa to include Magadha, essentially South Bihar,[8] so the school that flourished during Buddhapakṣa's time would fall within Eastern India as defined in this study. That this Buddhapakṣa may be identical with the Gupta monarch Budhagupta (c. 476–505) is suggested by Tāranātha's statement elsewhere in the text[9] that after repelling a foreign invasion, he revived Nālandā and supported Buddhism. In fact, Budhagupta was one of the primary patrons of the *Mahāvihāra* at Nālandā and fended off the Huṇas in the northwest.

The remains themselves confirm Tāranātha's report of

artistic work in Magadha at the end of the fifth century. But these remains are not isolated works of art, products of a school entirely distinct from a Pāla school. Rather, a continuous development links the art, and it is the purpose of this study to trace the patterns of that development.

Geography

For the purpose of this study, Eastern India is taken to mean the territory comprising the states of Bihar and West Bengal in India and the nation of Bangladesh. Assam, geographically part of Eastern India, remained on the political and cultural fringes of the area except for a brief time during the seventh century. It was at that time that the only monument in Assam of consequence to this study was made.

There are many good reasons to view this region as a cultural entity distinct from neighboring regions. For example, the sculptures produced in Eastern India are so closely related to one another in style, in spite of the distinctions among the products of local workshops, that often a careful examination of details is required to distinguish sculptures made in different parts of the region. This pertains during the fourth through the eighth centuries, and more so after the area is politically unified under the Pāla Dynasty. To some extent, the style of Eastern Indian art may appear unified by the medium that the sculptors favored even as early as the fifth century, a gray or black stone commonly called Rājmahāl Schist.[10] In addition, the temples of Eastern India, constructed of brick rather than stone as favored by artists in the areas bordering Bihar and Bengal, called for individual, self-contained stone sculptures. As these images were intended for placement in a brick wall or within the sanctum of a temple, there was little need to develop the more freely posed figures comprising stone relief sculpture of the sort that abundantly adorned temples in nearby Orissa and Madhya Pradesh. Also, work in terracotta and especially stucco, the latter quite sadly a perishable material, was developed for the architecture of Eastern India, while these media were much less often and less skillfully employed by artists in neighboring regions. The art of bronze casting, too, though known in neighboring areas, flourished most notably at several centers in Eastern India.

Language, religion, and even political authority were factors that also helped unite the region here identified as Eastern India. The language spoken throughout Eastern India was a form of Magadhī Apabhraṁśa.[11] Although localized dialects must have been spoken, the generally common language must have facilitated the movement of artists within the region and the transmission of artistic concepts, stylistic and iconographic. At the same time, Eastern India remained a stronghold of Buddhism during the centuries under consideration in this study, even though the followers of Brahmanical sects may have been dominant in the region. Hence a regular movement of pilgrims within the region stimulated the transmission of cultural concepts. This climate must have brought new influences to the artists, even though they themselves may not have been Buddhists or even worked exclusively for Buddhist patrons. Artists must have been drawn to the Buddhist monasteries, as these were sources of ongoing patronage. From the master artists there, they could gain iconographic and also technical training that they might carry when they moved to new places.[12]

Finally it was an area that was often unified politically. When conquerors from Magadha or even places west of Bihar extended their territory eastward, the easternmost part of the subcontinent up to the sea was their goal, as it was for example for the Guptas, the Maukharis, and the Vardhanas. Conversely, for conquerors from the east, Śaśāṅka of Gauḍa being the most notable example, the capture of Magadha, the old and undoubtedly prestigious imperial seat of India, was a logical goal. Hence, even though dynastic authority over Eastern India shifted with remarkable frequency during the period of this study, large parts of the region were at any one time under a single political authority. Thus the territory that the Pālas ultimately conquered was accustomed to a common sovereign.

The Eastern region of the subcontinent is known as Prācya in the ancient texts, distinguished from the central part of northern India, which was called Madhyadeśa. In the Buddhist view, as already noted, Madhyadeśa extended to include at least Bihar, and one well-known Buddhist text, the *Divyāvadāna*, even includes North Bengal in Madhyadeśa, although that designation is largely to group together the major monuments of Buddhism. However, the traditional Hindu view groups together in the Prācya or Eastern Territory the regions, known as *janapadas* in the texts or *bhuktis* in inscriptions,[13] that roughly comprise the modern states of Bihar, West Bengal, Bangladesh, and Assam. The janapadas that form an area corresponding to the modern state of Orissa are grouped with the Dakṣināpatha or southern region, significant for the history of art, since a style quite distinct from the style developed elsewhere in Eastern India evolved there. Hence, the area that is the focus for this study best corresponds to the Hindu view of the Prācya region.

In this study, the ancient names of the regions, the bhuktis or janapadas, are freely used, since they are often more descriptive of cultural divisions than the modern states. While the boundaries of the janapadas or bhuktis were not particularly well-defined, they nevertheless are useful for identifying the cultural units of the Eastern Region. Thus in Bihar, the area north of the Gaṅgā was known as Tīrabhukti, corresponding to the modern Mithilā region, while the districts just south of the Gaṅgā (Patna, Monghyr, Gayā, Bhāgalpur, and, though a special case geographically and culturally, Shāhābād)[14] formed Magadha, long one of

the most important cultural centers of India. Magadha is often identified with South Bihar, though this is not entirely accurate, since the districts to the south of those that make up Magadha, almost a third of Bihar, form the Chotā-Nāgpur region. This latter area is of almost no consequence to this study; the only remains of the period are from Singhbhūm District, and they have more in common with Orissan styles than with those of Eastern India.

Bengal was essentially divided into four main regions, though others are known, mostly of minor consequence or not existing as defined regions at the time.[15] The small region of Samataṭa, corresponding to Comilla and Noakhali Districts, remained an important cultural entity throughout the period. So did Puṇḍravardhana, also known as Varendra, the northern area of Bangladesh in the V-shaped area lying between the Gaṅgā and Jamunā Rivers, corresponding largely to Bogra, Rangpur, Dināǰpur and Rāǰshāhi Districts. Gauḍa, the seat of the powerful seventh-century ruler Śaśāṅka, probably included much of the territory between the Bhagirathī and Gaṅgā Rivers, that is, large parts of Murśidābād, Nadia, and Jessore Districts, though its exact territory is not known. Finally Vaṅga, less important in the period under consideration than in subsequent centuries, probably included an area somewhat to the southeast of Gauḍa, namely, Dacca and Faridpur Districts and also perhaps the coastal districts of Khulna and Bakarganj.

The districts referred to here and throughout this study are the widely recognized divisions of the Indian states that essentially remained unaltered since their establishment in the last century. However, recently in Bihar the districts have been divided in half or even thirds, with new names assigned to these newly created administrative units.[16] As they are unfamiliar to most readers of the book, I continue to use the long-established older district names.

Some Problems of Method

Indian art is most commonly divided into stylistic groups that are essentially dynastic. That is, we speak of Gupta art or Pāla art, to use the names of two dynasties that play a major role in this book, but often without regard to the strict geographic and chronological limits of these dynasties' realms. In spite of this, dynastic nomenclature is more precise than some of the broad stylistic divisions used for the history of Western art, such as Renaissance, Rococo, and (as if it really were!) International Style. Moreover, dynastic divisions of style appropriately fit the Indian context. While we might say that a particular sculpture dates to the seventh century, the Indian artists and their patrons, as inscriptions show, gauged time by the regnal year of the current monarch. They did not think of any hundred-year period as a unified module, least of all the hundred years that correspond to a particular century of the Christian calendar. Nor was there a single style during an entire century. Thus century divisions may be misleading; they are, however, used throughout this book because they are familiar to all readers and because, during much of the time covered by this study, no single major dynasty maintained authority over all of Eastern India or even over a large part of it. Moreover, dates in the Christian calendar imply moments in a continuity just as the sculptures under discussion represent stages in a continuous stylistic development.

Either dynastic or stylistic divisions imply that styles begin and end precipitously, when in reality they represent phases in a continuous evolution perpetuated by families of artists working without regard to divisions modern art historians may impose. Dynastic divisions, besides conveying the impression that styles rise and fall like the fortunes and authority of a ruling family, have one additional drawback, namely, that they focus attention only on the works made during the reign of a major ruling house. This focus leaves the impression that monuments from the time that no such dynasty was in authority represent the final gasp of a great dynastic art or that such monuments are significant only as the antecedent to art produced under a powerful dynasty to come. As just such a period forms the focus of a large portion of this study, we can easily show that the art is not dynastically confined, that the absence of a powerful ruling house does not necessarily generate an artistic vacuum. It is true, as this study also shows, that during the reign of a major dynasty ideas were transmitted more readily from one part of the realm to another and that the largest number of sculptures and temples were made, either as the result of direct royal patronage or of a favorable economic climate. But this should not imply that art developed only at the time of a major dynasty. There is every reason to assume that significant changes also occurred in the absence of a powerful ruling house.

The chronological confines of this study, 300–800, extend essentially from the opening years of Gupta rule through the reign of Dharmapāla, the first Pāla monarch who could properly be called an emperor. But as we have very few closely datable monuments from the long time between the end of Gupta rule in the sixth century and the accession of Dharmapāla's successor, Devapāla, many conclusions about the date of a work of art have had to be based on scant evidence, sometimes little more than a vestige of Gupta style or a relative resemblance to the style of dated images from the time of Devapāla in the ninth century. Thus the development postulated for this time is largely hypothetical. The method is admittedly far from precise, for it assumes a consistently paced evolution — unlikely in the art of any civilization. There are always periods of dramatic, dynamic development and subsequent periods of little innovation. In the absence of abundant dated monuments, it has been impossible to take into account such cultural conservatism or dynamism.

We piece together a picture of the art of Eastern India

from 300 to 800 with the understanding that we do not really know what the existing evidence, principally the monuments themselves, represents: Are the monuments only a small percentage of a much larger corpus, and if so, what percentage of the original do we know? Does the same portion of fifth-century sculptures remain as, let us say, eighth-century sculptures? Or to ask the question from the geographic perspective, do we have the same percentage of the original production from all parts of Eastern India? These questions are significant, as the study attempts to reconstruct a picture of the art of a region, during a specific time, from monuments that admittedly may not be representative of the original corpus. That, too, is a weakness of the method but unavoidable in the study of almost anything ancient.

In practice the study evolves as a sort of *catalogue raissoné*, a compendium of most of the monuments from Eastern India dating between the beginning of the Gupta age and the rise of the Pālas, so that the monuments can serve as the basis for broad-scale conclusions. Though the number of works presented in the study is far larger than presumed possible when I began the project, the study is still not exhaustive; not every sculpture of the period is discussed even in passing. For the earlier centuries of the study, I have included every image I was able to locate, but by the eighth century the number of sculptures produced must have been so large — if we may trust the number that remain to be indicative — that it is useful only to illustrate points with representative works. I also may have overlooked an image here or there, though I spent a considerable amount of time gathering the material, examining the holdings of museums and small collections all over Eastern India and visiting village after village to study the sculptures remaining in situ. But there is no way to esimate the importance of any image that escaped my attention. Finally, of course, new discoveries are made almost daily, sometimes through controlled excavations conducted by trained specialists but much more often by accident, for example in the course of plowing a field, digging a well, or preparing the foundations of a roadbed or building. While so far discoveries have only reinforced the conclusions, someday one may alter them.

Introduction to the Art

During the years of Kuṣāṇa rule in northern India, roughly the first three centuries A.D., almost the entire production of art in the realm was confined to the region of Gandhāra in the northwest, essentially corresponding to modern Pakistan, and to the single center of Mathurā in North Central India. While the workshops of Gandhāra produced abundant sculptures for local use almost exclusively, the artists of Mathurā, also made stone sculptures for export. Hence many other parts of India were dependent on this site for images required in worship. Only a very few sculptures are known to have been made at other sites in the northern part of India during the years of Kuṣāṇa rule, but among these pieces are a few from Eastern India (see pp. 10–11). This primary dependence on Mathurā as a principal exporting center for works of art explains the strong impact that the style of Mathurā had on the art of other places even after Kuṣāṇa times, for example, on the bronzes of Chausā (see pp. 17–18) and the Buddha from Bodhgayā (see pp. 19–20). Similarly, the decline of Mathurā as an art-producing center late in Kuṣāṇa times explains the necessity for the newly developing workshops that emerge all over the northern two-thirds of the subcontinent following the years of Kuṣāṇa domination. The reason we begin this study in c. 300 is that it roughly marks the rise of local artistic workshops in several parts of Eastern India and coincides with their emergence at many other sites in the northern part of the subcontinent.

In the absence of a strong central authority following the decline of the Kuṣāṇas, the Gupta dynasty rose to power in the fourth century. At its peak in the fifth century, the realm extended from sea to sea, that is, from the Arabian Sea in the west to the Bay of Bengal in the east, from the Himalayan foothills in the north to the Deccan Plateau in the south. That enormous region extended over many traditional cultural regions; thus although the central Gupta authority may have facilitated the transmission of ideas — through administrators and traders — across these traditional boundaries, it is not the least surprising to see that Gupta art is not identical in all parts of the realm. For example, little evidence remains of a counterpart in Eastern India to the temple-building activity that took place in parts of the empire corresponding to the modern states of Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh. True, probably as many temples once stood in Eastern India, maybe even more, for as we note in the next chapter (see pp. 15–16) they were made of brick, which has withstood the effects of time far more poorly than the stone used in temple construction in the central part of India.

But much more important than the durability of the material is the potential that the architecture presented for sculptural design. In Eastern India, the brick walls seem to have been most often unembellished with sculpture, though occasionally, as the remains reveal, they were adorned with stucco or terracotta imagery. However, in other parts of India, the stone walls presented a surface that artists regularly enhanced with relief images. While some comparable relief sculpture survives in Eastern India, for example at Pātharghāṭā (see p. 31), even there it was not intended as architectural adornment. Rather, the forms developed by the artists of Eastern India most often were intended as individual objects of worship. This distinction naturally contributed to the long-term development of sculptural style in Eastern India, yielding in time stone images that were relatively formally disposed, to insure bal-

ance of the single image, while elsewhere figures could be more freely posed on a wall.

Because bronze sculptures, regardless of their provenance, could never be part of architectural adornment but were always intended as individual objects of worship, it is no wonder that they were made in great numbers in Eastern India (see pp. 57–59, 83–85, 99–100), many times the number known from the areas of stone temple building in the northern part of India. It is, of course, also fortuitous that copper, the principal component of bronze, was widely available in the area.[17]

However important the regional differences, they should not overshadow the broad similarities and the common development of art in all parts of India. Thus important conclusions about the Gupta art of Eastern India — as well as the art of later periods — can be reached by examining the material in light of art from other parts of the realm. For example, the surviving dated images that permit plotting the developments are found almost exclusively outside Eastern India. Equally important is the impact that the art of sites located west of the region, principally Sārnāth, made on the developments of Eastern India (see pp. 25–26, 47–48). Without recognizing this, many of the changes are impossible to explain.

The broad unity of style in India extended even beyond the Gupta realm, for example, to the Deccan Plateau, where the Vākāṭaka dynasty ruled as contemporaries of the Guptas. There, the famous site of Ajaṇṭā was enormously expanded in the second half of the fifth century. At this site, rock-cut sanctuaries were embellished with sculptures that some might say represent a distinct Vākāṭaka style, though they have much in common with the full spectrum of Gupta art. The common forms are not just iconographically determined but represent an attitude at the time that transcended all boundaries within the subcontinent. Though it is impossible to explain how the common form was achieved over such a large area, many of the ideas must have been spread by Buddhist monks who travelled widely, often to sites in Eastern India such as Bodhgayā and Rājgir, where some of the most important events in the Buddha's life took place. As these pilgrims may have carried small images in the course of their travels, they could transmit not only those ideas that might be conveyed verbally but also more ineffable notions of style.

After the middle of the sixth century, the Guptas were replaced by what might best be termed regional dynasties, ruling houses whose authority only rarely crossed loosely defined but widely acknowledged regions. This time, too, marked the beginning of the development of regional styles in the arts, though this is a point that calls for some examination. In the first place, distinct regional features are apparent in sculpture long before the breakup of the Gupta empire, in fact even before its establishment (see p. 10). However, with time the regional distinctions became increasingly great, so that by the seventh century the appearance of a sculpture or temple at once reveals the area in which it was made. Thus writers more commonly emphasize the differences among regional styles and overlook the common development of art in India. To a large extent I must appear to be guilty of just that limitation in the following pages as I focus not only on one region, Eastern India, but even examine in detail the developments in several subregional areas. The reasons for doing so are manifold, but in large measure this focus is intended to draw attention to the movements of people and the transmission of their ideas and also to document the cultural changes within parts of Eastern India. In any event, the purpose is not simply to refine the regional categories into which we commonly divide the art of India after the Gupta period.

Although a considerable number of monuments may be assigned to the years between the fall of the Guptas in the sixth century and the rise of the Pālas in the eighth century, we possess remarkably little documentation to support the attributions. This may be because no single dynasty was sufficiently well established in Eastern India to be cited often in dedicatory records. The same problem exists at this time in most other parts of India except the South.

During the years between the fall of the Guptas and the rise of the Pālas, not a single firmly dated sculpture remains in all Eastern India. An image of the solar deity was discovered, bearing a date during the reign of Ādityasena, a king of the Later Gupta Dynasty who ruled near the end of the seventh century following a turbulent struggle for control of the region, but the image now has disappeared (see p. 50). Though the inscription was recorded, the image was never photographed. Ādityasena also had the time and resources to endow monuments at other sites, particularly Aphsaḍ (see pp. 53–55); nevertheless, it is impossible to state without doubt which of the remains there can be dated to his time.

The only other positively dated image of this period, a bronze figure of the goddess Sarvāṇī from Deulbāḍī in Southeast Bengal (see pp. 64–65), also is now lost; it was photographed, however, and serves as an important touchstone for determining the sculptural style of the times. Along with a few other sculptures attributable to this time, the Sarvāṇī image documents the rise to prominence of this part of Bengal.

In the entire northern two-thirds of the subcontinent, the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (see pp. 38–41) is one of the few seventh-century buildings that may be associated with a dated inscription. But even here grave problems regarding the inscription's date and its relation to the surviving temple must be resolved. This monument is particularly important, as it is the only well-preserved stone temple in Eastern India from the entire period of this study and shows the continued

influence in parts of the region of artists who had worked in the vicinity of Sārnāth.

Significantly, at this time we see relatively few monuments in the area commonly considered the Gupta heartland, that is, the area in which most of the Gupta-period temples had been concentrated, but elsewhere a great surge of activity is apparent. Nowhere is it more evident than in South India, where the first stone monuments were constructed under the Pallava and Cālukya dynasties. The sites of Māmallapuram, Bādāmi, and Aihole were developed into remarkable temple towns, much like Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa, whose earliest stone temples, such as the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, also may be assigned to the seventh century. Adjacent to Orissa and just south of the area considered in this study is Chattasgaṛh, ancient Kosala, where the ruling family was linked by marriage to the Later Gupta dynasty of Magadha. There, the Lakṣmaṇa temple of Sirpur is the best known and best preserved temple dating to the seventh century. In Western India the temples constructed under the Maitraka dynasty provide evidence of activity in the Saurāṣṭra peninsula, while at sites scattered between the modern cities of Udaipur and Ahmedābād, most notably Śāmlājī, large numbers of sculptures were made that have much in common with the imagery of Eastern India.

Sites in Eastern India were comparably developed in the seventh century, most famous among them the great monastic center of Nālandā. Though evidence is inconclusive for the sources of patronage there, mostly the account of a Chinese pilgrim and royal seals found in the course of excavations, the remains testify that the site underwent a great surge of building activity in the seventh century. The temple of Site Number 2 (see pp. 48–50), whose stone plinth with more than a hundred sculptured panels serves as an important precedent for monuments to come, was constructed at this time. Other monuments at Nālandā were reconstructed and embellished with new sculptural imagery. Among these, the most important is the Great *Stūpa* of Site Number 3 (see pp. 46–48), which was enlarged and adorned with superb stucco images. The bronze images found at Nālandā in great numbers all date to the eighth century and later, but bronzes from other parts of Eastern India, many of them more customarily assigned a Gupta date, were cast in the seventh century. Among these is the justly famous Buddha from Sultānganj (see pp. 56–58), the largest surviving bronze image from India. Strong traces of the Gupta style, which persist in many parts of Eastern India through the ealry years of Pāla rule, longer than elsewhere in India, explain the common Gupta attribution of sculptures such as this.

The final phase treated in this study covers the years leading to the establishment of Pāla authority over much of Eastern India under Dharmapāla (c. 783–818), the second Pāla king but the first who properly could be called an emperor. His reign marks a cogent conclusion for the study, although it by no means marks an abrupt change in artistic development. Rather, from the time of Dharmapāla's successor onward, we have abundant dated images that well document the developments and permit many more refined judgments than possible during the preceding centuries.

This portion of the study, which roughly corresponds with the eighth century and might be conceived as marking the threshold of Pāla times, shows several important developments. First, new movements of artists brought about notable shifts in style. For example, both in Shāhābād District, the westernmost district of the region (see pp. 74–75), and at the site of Nālandā (see pp. 80–82), we see the gradual rejection of sculpture styles that were based on models from west of the region, particularly from Sārnāth. At two monastic sites, both probably endowed by Dharmapāla, one in Bengal and the other in the easternmost part of Magadha (see pp. 91–93), we see monuments that are almost identical in plan and elevation. In other words, the distinctive forms that had evolved in various parts of Eastern India were replaced by a more integrated style across the entire region, giving the impression of a common Pāla style. Second, we see an unprecedented production of monuments, particularly during the time of Dharmapāla, further lending credence to the belief of some that a new school had been established. This is evident not only at such sites as Bodhgayā, Rājgir, and Nālandā in Magadha, where much of the earlier material had been concentrated, but also at sites in Bengal as well, the homeland of the Pālas. Even in Southeast Bengal, where the Pālas did not rule until long after the time of this study, monuments at Maināmatī (see pp. 99–100) among other places were developed as never before, and bronze images were produced in numbers that rivaled those of the workshops at Nālandā (see pp. 83–85) and Mahāsthāngaṛh (see pp. 94–95).

Dharmapāla emerged the unquestionable ruler of Eastern India after a long struggle with the armies of two other dynasties, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, ruling from the Deccan Plateau, and the Pratīhāras, ruling from Kanauj. The peaceful times that followed the battles for regional authority provided the opportunity and economy appropriate for the spate of activity witnessed late in the eighth century. That was the case in the homelands of the other dynasties as well. For example, under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the largest rock-cut temple in India, the Kailāsanātha at Ellorā, was constructed, while under the Pratīhāras, many temple sites were developed during the eighth century, Naresar and Nāchnā notable among them. But the great surge of activity was not limited to the territory of these three powerful dynasties, for in all parts of India unprecedented work is evident. Enough of it is documented by donative records to leave no doubt about the date and source of patronage. Major temple cities now may be found

in all parts of India: Ṛoḍā and Osiāṅ to the west, Paṭṭadakal and Kāñchī in the South, Ālampur and Mukhaliṅgam in Andhra, and Bhuvaneśvara in Orissa are but a few. In Eastern India the brick temples that once must have accommodated the images remaining in abundance from this time have almost all vanished, but the surviving stone images suggest a countryside once dotted with shrines.

Eastern Indian Art: Third-First Centuries B.C.

Magadha was the homeland of Maurya art, and it was during the years of Maurya rule that a tradition originated of working in a common type of stone, generally identified as Chunār Sandstone. This anticipates the almost ubiquitous use during this period in Eastern India of gray or black stone, commonly identified as Rājmahāl Schist. The pillars of Aśoka with their animal capitals, widely dispersed along the well-travelled pilgrimage and trade routes, attest either to the movement of the finished works of art from a single center to various sites or, more likely, to the movement of artists themselves along these routes. Much the same sort of movement took place in later times as well, when the varying patterns of movement provide insights into changing cultural boundaries. As the patterns may be documented by the findspot of sculptures, it makes little difference to the conclusion whether the artists moved or their finished products were transported.

Eastern Indian stone sculptures during the period following Maurya rule are best known at Bodhgayā, where they adorn the railing around the Mahābodhi temple. They are rendered in a sort of sparse style with softly modeled figures and little indication of setting, a notable contrast to the more exuberantly lush carvings and precisely delineated forms of the contemporary art in Madhyadeśa, for example on the railing around the Bhārhut stūpa and on the gateways of the Great Stūpa at Sāñci. In style the Bodhgayā sculptures already anticipate subsequent developments in Eastern India, especially in Magadha, and suggest a continuity of artistic tradition.

Though best known among the Eastern Indian sculptures of the Śuṅga period,[18] the Bodhgayā railing reliefs are not the only stone products of this age in the region. For example, a pillar sculptured with a standing female figure at the base, now in worship in the compound of a Śiva temple at Rājāsan, near Hajipur in Muzaffarpur District, closely resembles the Bodhgayā railing style;[19] and several fragments of a railing from Patna City probably date nearer the close of the first century B.C.,[20] as does a railing excavated at Kumrahar.[21]

The extensive terracotta art of the Śuṅga and Andhra periods throughout Eastern India anticipates its widespread use during the period of this study, particularly in Bengal. From Buxār in the western part of the region to Mahāsthāngarh in the eastern part, terracottas that are attributable to this early age have been discovered. Some of them, such as the well-known Yakṣī from Tāmralipta,[22] are superb works of art that closely parallel the style of contemporary stone sculptures and thereby indicate a mutuality of influences and even suggest that the artists who worked in stone may have been responsible for the terracotta art. That the artists themselves were not working at a single center and exporting their products across Eastern India, or any large area, is indicated by the differing fabric derived from local clays used for the terracotta sculpture. Since there is no reason to believe that stone sculptors worked differently, it is likely that they too carved their images on the spot.[23]

Eastern Indian Art: Age of the Kuṣāṇas

Probably before the time of Kaniṣka and certainly by the beginning of his reign, Mathurā had become the principal artistic center of northern India, a contemporary of the well-known school in the Gandhāra region. Impelled especially by changes in certain schools of Buddhism and Jainism that encouraged the installation and worship of anthropomorphic images of the deities,[24] patrons, some of whose names have become well known to students of early Indian art, commissioned the artists of Mathurā to create sculptured images. While the vast majority of these images were enshrined at Mathurā itself, many sculptures, particularly Buddhist images, carved from the characteristic spotted red sandstone used at Mathurā were sent to monastic centers elsewhere. For example, in Eastern India, images carved from Sikri Sandstone were found in Bengal at Chandraketugaṛh in 24 Parganas District[25] and in Bihar at Rājgīr[26] and Kumrahar[27] in Patna District, Bodhgayā[28] in Gayā District, and Nonagaṛh[29] in Monghyr District. We can only surmise that these images were made at a Mathurā workshop and exported, but we know little more about the practice during Kuṣāṇa times than we do about the practice during Maurya times when, for the most part, artists worked in a single medium, Chunār Sandstone. Only because of locally made sculptures that clearly imitate but do not replicate the Mathurā style can we guess that the finished piece was imported, not the stone alone or the stone and the artist.[30] If the surmise is correct, then the practice contrasts with the one established eventually in Eastern India; there, artists from the Gupta period onward, though commonly working in gray or black schist quarried near Gayā and in the Rājmahāl Hills, produced their sculptures in local workshops, as evidenced by the stylistic and iconographic peculiarities of images from each of the many ateliers in Eastern India.

In spite of the general belief to the contrary,[31] Mathurā was by no means the exclusive northern Indian workshop during the age of the Kuṣāṇas, although undoubtedly it was

the dominant workshop. This is proved by sculptures found at various sites, particularly along the Gaṅgā Valley, that are made in local stones and in a style that closely resembles but does not precisely duplicate the Kuṣāṇa style of Mathurā. For example, the two-sided relief, each side depicting a Vṛkṣadevatā, currently under worship as Domukhī Devī in the Village of Nayatoìa near Kumrahar (Plate 1), is carved from a buff sandstone, not the characteristic red, often speckled sandstone of Mathurā. There are several contemporary double-sided figures at Mathurā,[32] most of which, like this, probably served as the bracket of a gateway (*toraṇa*) and so would have been visible from both sides. Although the appearance of the figure is heavily indebted to the style of Mathurā, the fashion of carving contrasts with the more taut modeling and generally urbane appearance of early Kuṣāṇa figures from Mathurā such as the railing Devatās discovered at Bhuteśar.[33]

Similarly, a gray sandstone Bodhisattva torso from Kumrahar (Plate 2) now in the Patna Museum shows such clear affinity with the style of early Kuṣāṇa Mathurā images that it would be possible to mistake this figure as a product of a Mathurā atelier. The form of the figure as well as the details of clothing and ornament so closely resemble Kuṣāṇa figures from Mathurā that one might imagine that the image had been made by an artist who had actually worked at Mathurā and then migrated to Pāṭaliputra. Only in certain details of execution can one detect the hand of an artist not fully familiar with the Mathurā forms: The pendant and choker necklaces are of a similar beaded type, while contemporary images from Mathurā generally wear two necklaces with distinct patterns; also, the great sash worn around the waist and the pendant tassels of the sash securing the lower garment are considerably stiffer than those on such Mathurā scupltures as the Nāga from Chārgaon, now in the Mathurā Museum, or the Bodhisattva from Ganeśra, now in the State Museum, Lucknow.[34]

Other sculptures made in Eastern India during the Kuṣāṇa period also were found primarily in the region of Pāṭaliputra. These include a Vṛkṣadevatā from Kumrahar, now in the Patna Museum,[35] a railing from Kumrahar, now in the Indian Museum,[36] and a Male Head also from Kumrahar, now in the Patna Museum.[37] Also the earliest of the Chausā bronzes in the Patna Museum, discussed at length in the next chapter, may be ascribed to the late Kuṣāṇa period.[38] However, the very interesting Ekānaṁśā Trio from Devangaṛh in Gayā District (Plates 8–10), usually attributed to Kuṣāṇa times,[39] probably should be dated early in the Gupta period as explained in the next chapter.

A few sculptures from North Bengal have been identified as products of the Kuṣāṇa period.[40] These include a Viṣṇu from Hāṅkrail in Mālda District (Plate 12), and two Sūrya images from Rājshāḥi District, one from Kumārpur (Plate 13) and the other from Niyāmatpur (Plate 14), all of which should be ascribed more properly to the early Gupta period, and are discussed in detail in the next chapter. A Śiva head from Dināǰpur, called colossal by S. K. Saraswati[41] though really no larger than life-size, is difficult to place but shows only the most superficial resemblance to the Kuṣāṇa style.

Among the early Bengali sculptures, only a standing figure from Mahāsthāngaṛh bears enough in common with the Kuṣāṇa images from Mathurā and the few sculptures of this date from Magadha to sustain an attribution to the Kuṣāṇa period; but even this sculpture shows enough later features that it could not have been made long before Gupta times. The site of Mahāsthāngaṛh, probably the capital of Puṇḍravardhanabhukti, now about seven miles north of Bogra town, may have been a cultural center as early as the Maurya period, since an inscription attributed on paleographic grounds to that time was found there.[42] Even if the inscription dates somewhat later, abundant Śuṅga terracottas from Mahāsthāngaṛh attest to artistic activity there during the second century B.C. Thus it is not surprising that a site of such ancient cultural heritage would yield a Kuṣāṇa period image. The headless standing figure, now housed in the Asutosh Museum (Plate 3), was found at Skanda Dhāp on the southern edge of the extensive sites of Mahāsthāngaṛh. Corresponding to the name of the findspot, the figure probably represents Kārttikeya, that is, Skanda, since he holds the lance and is clearly a youth as indicated by the locks of hair on the shoulders; however, other attributes of Kārttikeya, the peacock *vāhana* and the cock often held in the hand, are not shown. The figure is close enough in overall composition to a fine Kuṣāṇa Kārttikeya from Mathurā now in the Mathurā Museum,[43] and to several other Kuṣāṇa Mathurā images of this deity now in the State Museum, Lucknow,[44] to have been modeled on this type of figure, although the sculpture is clearly a provincial production. The great sash at the waist is quite stiff, as are the ends of the band that secures the lower garment. The double incisions across the upper torso at first appear to be the end of a diaphanous garment covering only the left shoulder, but clearly on analogy with other Kuṣāṇa and early Gupta images of Kārttikeya, this represents the *yajñopavīta*. The right hand, raised to the shoulder in *abhaya mudrā*, is held at the angle typical of Kuṣāṇa Kārttikeya figures. However, two features show that it could not have been made long before the beginning of the Gupta period: The necklace is a variation of the *ekāvali* that is common on Gupta images but hardly ever used earlier, and the pleats of the lower garment, rendered by a series of double striations, are common on Pāla images, rare during Gupta and post-Gupta times, and otherwise unknown on Kuṣāṇa sculptures. Hence, only the lack of any soft modeling of the body or accouterments inclines me to ascribe this sculpture to the Kuṣāṇa rather than to the Gupta period.

It is not the least surprising that only one sculpture from

Puṇḍravardhana can be dated with confidence to the Kuṣāṇa period, since Bengal was at best on the periphery of cultural developments at this time. Possibly Bengal did not even fall within the realm of Kuṣāṇa suzerainty, in spite of occasional finds of Kuṣāṇa coins there; its history during Kuṣāṇa times simply remains unknown. Moreover, Bengal is situated to the east of the well-traveled pilgrimage routes that undoubtedly were the pathways for transmission of many of the current developments in art. But in Magadha, which was the homeland of many important pilgrimage and monastic centers[45] and moreover remained in the cultural and political sphere of the Kuṣāṇa empire,[46] artists were more active, though only a few of their products are known.

The style in which these Eastern Indian sculptors worked during the Kuṣāṇa period provides testimony for the dominant role of Mathurā in the artistic life of this time. Its role is further implied by the many sculptures actually exported from Mathurā as well as by the paucity of indigenous sculptures known in Eastern India, or anywhere else in the northern two-thirds of the subcontinent, during the Kuṣāṇa age. But with the decline of Mathurā as a cultural center, for whatever reason, patrons turned increasingly to local artists to provide images. At first, these artists were heavily dependent on Mathurā models as sources for inspiration, but as the next chapter shows, their descendants quickly developed innovative forms that became the much admired Gupta style.

CHAPTER 2

The Gupta Age

Historical Introduction

It has long been puzzling to note that the artistic remains of the Gupta period in Eastern India are far fewer in number than those in the north central part of the country, and that nowhere in Eastern India have we found even a single site with extensive Gupta works of art. Although Pāṭaliputra is widely believed to have been the capital and thus, presumably, a cultural center during India's Golden Age, mostly stray sculptures have come to light. This, together with other evidence, has led some scholars to make a convincing case recently that Pāṭaliputra was not the Gupta capital and that instead the capital was located somewhere to the west, perhaps at Allāhābād, that is, ancient Prayāg.[1] Nevertheless, the rule of the first Gupta emperor, Candragupta (c. 319–350), over at least part of Eastern India is confirmed from his marriage to Kumāradevī, a queen of the famous Licchavi dynasty of north Bihar.[2] That Candragupta's rule extended as far as North Bengal, that is, ancient Puṇḍravardhana or Varendra, is suggested by the Allāhābād *praśasti* of his son and successor, Samudragupta (c. 350–375), which does not specifically mention the conquest of either Magadha or Puṇḍravardhana. Hence he must have inherited them from Candragupta. As Samudragupta's inscription specifies that Samataṭa and Kāmarūpa, that is, Southeast Bengal and Assam, stood at the frontiers of the realm,[3] we may assume that by his time all of Bihar and probably most of Bengal were included in the vast territory of the Gupta Empire.

Subsequently, a minister of Candragupta II (c. 375–413) identified himself as coming from Pāṭaliputra when he accompanied the emperor on a visit to Udayagiri in Mālwa.[4] Thus at least Magadha remained under imperial Gupta authority; the minister surely would not have come from an alien state. Furthermore, the inscription on the famous iron pillar originally from Meharauli, now erected near the Qutb Minār in Delhi, suggests that all of Bihar and probably all of Bengal remained under Gupta authority at this time. The inscription refers to a certain Candra, almost surely Candragupta II, who defeated a confederacy of hostile chiefs in Vaṅga,[5] that is, eastern Bengal, apparently indicating that the monarch suppressed a revolt there and thus maintained even the easternmost part of Bengal within the empire.

Two generations later, Skandagupta (c. 454–467) seems to have been preoccupied with fending off Hūṇa attacks on the northwestern frontier. He was apparently successful in maintaining the empire intact, and his interest in Eastern India is confirmed by a command issued from Bihār Sharīf granting a village in perpetual endowment.[6] His successors on the other hand were weaker and may have retreated to Eastern India, where most of their inscriptions have been found. Thus Budhagupta (c. 476–505), ruling a decade after Skandagupta's death, probably did not retain the full realm of his predecessors; he did hold authority, though, in all of Eastern India, since he is identified as the paramount sovereign in inscriptions on two Buddha images dedicated at Sārnāth,[7] just beyond the western border of the region, and on two copperplates from Dāmodarpur,[8] in the eastern part of the region. But his power was obviously beginning to decline by this time, since all over India during the period of his reign we begin to find the inscriptions of kings who style themselves *Mahārāja*. Even in North Bengal, the viceroy (*bhuktāvuparika*) called himself Mahārāja, whereas earlier, during the reign of Kumāragupta I, the holder of the same office had called himself simply *uparika*.[9] Thus in spite of Budhagupta's supreme position at least in Eastern India, a break-

down of authority is apparent, and as a result of the chronology of subsequent rulers is extremely difficult to sort out.

During the last half century of what can only quite loosely be called the Gupta period, that is c. 500–550, we learn the official genealogy of the last three Gupta monarchs, those who followed Budhagupta, from seals found at Nālandā: Narisiṁhagupta Bālāditya was succeeded by his son Kumāragupta III who in turn was succeeded by his son Viṣṇugupta.[10] However, it is evident that these three monarchs did not rule all of Eastern India, to say nothing of the huge territory that had fallen under Gupta dominion during the fifth century. The Hūṇas seriously weakened the Gupta authority, apparently establishing a seat in Mālwa that was subsequently maintained by Yaśodharman, their vanquisher. In southeast Bengal as well there must have been independent rulers since Vainyagupta, essentially a local ruler, is identified as a Mahārāja and does not acknowledge an overlord in the Gunaighar inscription of 507.[11] Also the undated copperplate inscriptions of the first half of the sixth century from Faridpur[12] refer to the supremacy of the *Mahārājādhirāja* Dharmāditya and his apparent successor Gopacandra without mention of an overlord. Even in Magadha itself, perhaps in Gayā District, the Maukharis seem to have begun a rise to power.[13] But in spite of this apparent breakdown in the imperial authority of the Gupta Dynasty, we see no reflection of it in the arts, at least in Eastern India. In fact, if anything, the opposite is true, since in general the remains show that especially after the time of the Guptas the arts began to flourish in Eastern India, even though the Gupta period is often called a Golden Age of Indian culture. Thus one cannot help but wonder whether the local monarchs, ruling much smaller lands, either personally patronized monuments in their area or at least stimulated local activity in areas that had been on the fringes of the Gupta heartland.

Fa Hsian: Eastern India in the Gupta Age

The only contemporary description of Eastern India during the Gupta period comes from Fa Hsian, the Chinese pilgrim who traveled in India for approximately ten years (c. 400–411) during the reign of Candragupta II. His eyewitness account provides important insights into Eastern India in the Gupta age. For example, his view of Magadha seems to confirm the common notion that the Gupta period was a Golden Age. He says that of all the countries in what he calls Central India (taking the Buddhist view), ". . . this has the largest cities and towns. Its people are rich and thriving and emulate one another in practicing charity of heart and duty to one's neighbor."[14]

Nevertheless, he subsequently gives the impression that Magadha was desolated, not flourishing as one would expect both from his initial statement and from its position in the heart of the Gupta Empire, at its peak during the time of the Chinese pilgrim's visit. For example, of Old Rājgir, Fa Hsian says, "The city itself is a waste without any inhabitants"; in the new city he saw monasteries but fails to mention the number of monks dwelling there as he usually does elsewhere.[15] Gayā, he says, was "also a complete waste within its walls."[16] Elsewhere he describes the monuments ascribed to Aśoka, rather than to any contemporary patron, mostly, of course, to emphasize the antiquity of these monuments but leaving the impression that no new ones were worthy of mention. This contrasts with his description of places like Taxila, Mathurā, and Sārnāth, which were clearly more vital. Even Pāṭaliputra seems to receive short shrift: Monuments that Aśoka established and his magnificent palace are described,[17] although Fa Hsian does not mention a contemporary monarch in the city, thus lending weight to the view that the Gupta capital was located at Prayāg, which he did not visit, rather than in Pāṭaliputra, as long maintained. Admittedly, though, it is primarily the Buddhist monuments and centers that draw the attention of Fa Hsian, and he rarely comments on secular features. Hence an impoverished Buddhist community in Eastern India might make the entire region appear desolate to him at a time when the Guptas, who declared themselves Bhāgavatas, devotees of Viṣṇu, flourished and favored Brahmanical culture.

Primarily Bodhgayā, among the centers in Eastern India, appears to have been active during Fa Hsian's visit. There he saw three monasteries, each with resident priests who received offerings in abundance from the populace.[18] This is significant, since one of the few fourth-century sculptures of Eastern India was found at Bodhgayā.[19]

After a division in his trip during which he visited Benares, Kauśāmbī, and the Deccan, he returned to Pāṭaliputra and from there visited Champā, usually identified with modern Bhāgalpur town, and finally Tāmralipta, the great seaport of Bengal. At Champā there were pagodas, as stūpas are called in the common translations of his travels, and priests lived there.[20] Although no Buddhist remains have yet been found at Bhāgalpur, 12 miles west of this town the ruins of a monastery and stūpa were found at Sultānganj, and there is good reason to believe that this *vihāra* was founded during the time of Candragupta II, the monarch reigning during the visit of Fa Hsian.[21] At Tāmralipta the Buddhist community was obviously flourishing, for Fa Hsian reports twenty-four monasteries there, all with resident priests.[22] It was a sufficiently vital center to attract the Chinese pilgrim to stay for two years, studying the texts and making drawings of the deities, before he sailed away from India. Thus far, however, only terracotta sculptures that long antedate the Gupta period have been found at Tāmralipta,[23] although Fa Hsian's account suggests that remains of the Gupta period may yet be found there.

Fa Hsian's picture of Eastern India is to a large extent supported by the material remains. Few monuments of any sort remain from his time, as may be expected from the dearth of activity that this Chinese pilgrim reports. Not only are Buddhist monuments rare but Hindu and Jaina ones as well, suggesting that patronage was concentrated more in Central and Western India than in the eastern part of the subcontinent.

Inscriptional Evidence for Art

The following pages may give the impression of sparse Gupta art in Eastern India, particularly by contrast to the major temple sites and monastic establishments of Central India. But Gupta art, while apparently more limited in Eastern India than in the central part of the country, had a far more long-lasting influence here than in any other part of India. Vestiges of the style are apparent through the opening years of the Pāla period. Perhaps, though, the extant monuments tell only part of the story; epigraphic evidence indicates the existence of many monuments that no longer remain.

For example, three inscriptions on Mauryan rock-cut sanctuaries in the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills in Gayā District are dated to the reign of the monarch Anantavarman, recording the installation of images of Kṛṣṇa, Śiva, and Kātyāyānī (i.e., Pārvatī).[24] The style of their script is generally assumed to belong to the late fifth century.[25] However, it is not possible to determine Anantavarman's date more accurately, for example, from genealogic records, since his name, usually associated with the Imperial Maukhari family, is lacking in chronologies of the Maukhari kings, as is the name of his father, Śārdūla, also mentioned in these inscriptions. Nevertheless, we have no reason to doubt that Anantavarman was an antecedent of the Imperial Maukharis of Kanauj, ruling at this time near Gayā, probably as a subordinate of the Guptas. While none of the images mentioned in the inscriptions remains today, the inscriptions suggest that the Ājīvikas, for whom the caves were excavated during the Maurya period, had abandoned them by the end of the fifth century[26] and that use of the sanctuaries had been ceded to Hindu devotees. Of these sanctuaries, only the Lomas Ṛṣi is adorned with relief motifs that probably are contemporary with the excavation of the cave in the third century B.C. In any case, the sculptured facade of this cave is certainly not as late as the inscription, as Cunningham[27] once suggested, a view no longer maintained by anyone.

Several inscriptions from North Bengal record land transfers, usually from the government to a private person or group so that in turn the land can be donated to a religious establishment. In some of these inscriptions, a description of the newly endowed establishment includes mention of a temple, and in others, a shrine is identified as marking a border of the transferred land. For example, in one of the earliest remaining records of such a land transfer, the inscription from Jagdishpur in Rājshāhi District dated to the year 128, presumably of the Gupta era, that is, 447/48 A.D., two temples are identified.[28] One, a temple of Sūrya, the solar deity, is to be a beneficiary of the revenue produced by the land; the other is a temple located by a tank used to mark the southern boundary of the land. Neither temple can be identified, even in ruins, but obviously they did exist, as did many other monuments in Bengal that no longer remain.

Another temple is mentioned in the copperplate inscription of the year 128 from Baigrām in Bogra District, the ancient Vāyīgrāma. The inscription provides for an endowment to a temple (*devakula*) of Govindasvāmin, probably an epithet for Viṣṇu; the temple had been founded by Śivanandi, the father of the two donors.[29] Although the inscription does not mention any monarch's name, the date should be referred to the Gupta era, because the style of the script is characteristic of the fifth century and because evidence that the Gupta era was in use in North Bengal is provided by an exactly contemporary inscription, the second Dāmodarpur copper plate of the year 128, which mentions Kumāragupta I as the reigning monarch.[30] Its date is thus equivalent to 448 A.D. Only the foundation of a temple can be seen at the site, probably the Gupta temple mentioned in the inscription,[31] but no sculptures remain.

A copperplate from Pāhāpur, best known as the site of the Somapura vihāra, whose stūpa is a product of the late eighth century, is dated in the year 159, almost surely of the Gupta era. It records a grant of land whose revenue was intended to provide sandal, incense, flowers, and lamps for the *arhats* at the vihāra of Vaṭa Gohālī, which was presided over by the disciples and the disciples of the disciples of a preceptor (*śramanācārya*) from Vārāṇasī named Guhanandi.[32] This Guhanandi is called a *nigrantha* (for *nirgrantha*) in two places in the inscription; because this word is commonly used in texts to distinguish Jainas, it is assumed that the arhats belonged to a Jaina establishment that preceded the Buddhist vihāra of the eighth century.[33] However, his full epithet, *pañca-stūpa-nikāyika-nigrantha-śramaṇācāryya*, could apply to a Buddhist as well if the word nigrantha were taken literally to mean a person without attachment to material possessions. Whatever the orientation of the vihāra, neither images nor even buildings survive at Pāhārpur that may be assigned to this early date. The inscription may have been brought from some other place, as it was found in a much later context, namely the debris that had accumulated on the northeast side of the second terrace of the eighth-century stūpa, but even so, neither Buddhist nor Jaina remains datable to the fifth century have been found anywhere near Pāhārpur. Thus

again we are left with an inscription that implies the existence of untraceable Gupta monuments.

The fourth copperplate inscription from Dāmodarpur in Dināǰpur District, written during the reign of Budhagupta (ç. 476–495), records the gift of land in the village of Ḍoṅgāgrāma in the forest region known as Himavacchikhara for the establishment of a liṅga and the construction of two temples and two storerooms for the gods Śiva and Viṣṇu.[34] That at least one of the temples, the one dedicated to Viṣṇu, was actually built is known from the fifth Dāmodarpur copperplate inscription of the year 214 (533 A.D.) or 224 (543 A.D.),[35] which provided lands to repair whatever had broken in the shrine of Viṣṇu built in the forest region.[36] However, no remains of this temple have been found in the vicinity of Dāmodarpur, nor is the identity of this forest region apparent.[37]

Finally, an inscription from Gunaighar in Comilla District in southeast Bengal, records the gift of land in the year 188 (507 A.D.), apparently from the Mahārāja Vainyagupta himself, a devotee of Mahādeva, to the Buddhist monks of the Vaivarttika sect of the Mahāyāna school in the vihāra dedicated to Avalokiteśvara, currently under construction.[38] Of course, the proximity of the sixth-century seaport Gunaighar, apparently the Guṇekāgrahāra of the inscription, to the vihāras of Maināmatī gives reason to believe that the early establishments of this area were under construction at this time. Hindu monuments also existed in the area during the sixth century, for according to the inscription, the vihāra was surrounded on three sides by water channels, while the fourth side, the east, was bordered by the land attached to the temple of Pradyumneśvara. Although neither this temple nor the vihāra have been located, the inscription provides further evidence for Gupta monuments in Bengal.

The inscriptions show that many more Gupta monuments once stood than now remain, particularly in Bengal. In the succeeding centuries as well, far fewer monuments can be identified in Bengal than in Magadha, although the scattered sculptures in Bengal imply the existence of others now vanished. In Eastern India it was not until rather late in the Gupta period that names of Gupta monarchs were used together with a Gupta era date in the inscriptions. The Dāmodarpur inscription of Kumāragupta I dated 448 A.D.[39] is the earliest known inscription of Eastern India to cite the name of the reigning monarch. From this time until the end of the Gupta dynasty (c. 550), several Gupta inscriptions from Eastern India identify the ruling king, while at the same time, few of their inscriptions are known in other parts of the country; by the sixth century, Gupta epigraphs are found almost exclusively in Eastern India. If Gupta hegemony was increasingly restricted to Eastern India, as the inscriptions imply, that restriction might explain an important source of patronage concentrated there only late in the Gupta period. Also, artists patronized by the Guptas may have been brought to Eastern India when the imperial realm was restricted to this area. Some evidence for this is noted below,[40] and would further explain the surge of artistic activity in Eastern India late in the Gupta period as well as the persistence of the Gupta style there long after its last traces had vanished in other parts of India.

Suggesting that inscriptional evidence is provided only when a major dynasty is in authority, epigraphs referring to beneficent donations in Bengal and Magadha as well are notably few during the centuries following Gupta rule, limited almost exclusively to the Maināmatī area. This dearth of inscriptional evidence lasts until the beginning of Pāla times, although the monuments themselves show that these intervening centuries were a period of vital artistic activity all over Eastern India.

Early Gupta Sculpture: Magadha

Following the reign of the Kuṣāṇa monarch Vāsudeva, who ruled from the years 67 to 98 of the Kuṣāṇa era, probably the final decades of the second century, the number of images produced at Mathurā dwindled considerably, a pale reflection of the flourishing ateliers that had produced abundant images earlier in the Kuṣāṇa period. Not until the fifth century did prolific artistic workshops reappear in North Inida. This is not to say that no images were made during the third and fourth centuries. The previous chapter identified a few Eastern Indian images, that is, the earliest Chausā bronzes and the Mahāsthān Kārttikeya, which were tentatively ascribed to the third century; in this chapter we shall discuss several images that may be ascribed to the fourth century. But sculptures of this period are rare in Eastern India and in the rest of the subcontinent. Thus it is difficult to plot clearly and cogently the development from the Kuṣāṇa style to the mature Gupta style, although recognizing and identifying images from these centuries, makes it increasingly possible to illustrate the evolution.[41]

Some of the early Gupta sculptures are found along the Gaṅgā and Jamunā Rivers at sites where artists had practiced during Kuṣāṇa times. Mathurā, Kauśāmbī, and, in Eastern India, Patna are among the places where early Gupta artists continued an older tradition. South of the Gaṅgā and Jamunā Valleys, at Vidiśā, where some Kuṣāṇa-period works are known, artists were particularly prolific in early Gupta times.

But especially significant are those places without evidence of prior activity that have yielded early Gupta remains. This is indicative of the growing number of places at which artists now worked. For example, in Magadha the only fourth-century sculpture from a site that has yielded Kuṣāṇa images is the lifesize stone statue of Parśvanātha from Patna (Plates 4, 5). Farther east along the Gaṇgā, a group of Jaina bronzes (Plates 6, 7) was found at Chausā.

Though some of these may be late Kuṣāṇa products, most are from early Gupta times. And to the south of the river, in Gayā District, the Ekānaṁśā Trio (Plates 8–10) from Devangaṛh, where no earlier remains are known, seems to have been made during the fourth century. Also, the Buddha of the year 64 from Bodhgayā, where artists had worked in the first century B.C. but apparently not during Kuṣāṇa times, shows some of the most distinctively Gupta features, and is devoid of the provinciality that characterizes other Magadhan sculptures of this century.

These fourth-century images of Magadha are so few, so widely dispersed, and so limited in common features that it would be difficult to trace the evolution of their style, or even to state with certainty that one precedes or follows another. We can conclude with reasonable confidence that they do, in fact, date to the fourth century, because of the strong traces of the stiff, often awkward style that characterized the late Kuṣāṇa Jaina images of Mathurā[42] and because of their apparent anticipation of the fully developed Gupta style. Their real importance lies not in the stylistic evidence that they furnish but in the proof they provide for surprisingly extensive activity in Eastern India quite early in the Gupta period.

The appearance of these fourth-century sculptures from Magadha may be most clearly illustrated by a life-size image of Pārśvanātha (Plates 4, 5), 72 inches high, now in a private collection in India. It is discussed first among the Gupta sculptures of Eastern India not because it is earliest — one of the Chausā Tīrthaṅkaras discussed below (Plate 7) undoubtedly antedates this piece — but because its date can be most easily ascertained and it is a fine specimen of its style. The image, carved from buff-colored sandstone, is said to have been discovered on the bank of the Gaṅgā at Mahābīr Ghāṭ in the Gulzarbāgh section of Patna City.[43] Without clothing[44] and standing stiffly erect, the hands at the side in *kāyotsarga* pose, the figure may be identified as Pārśvanātha by the *nāga* canopy over the head. The stiffness of the figure and angular modeling are reminiscent of late Kuṣāṇa sculptures; however, the full, fleshy appearance of the thighs, chest, and especially the face with its thick lips and essentially downcast eyes are all Gupta features. The four attendants show similar features, and perhaps even more than the main figure exhibit the rather awkward proportions and angular modeling that recall the late Kuṣāṇa style.

The obvious reminiscences of the late Kuṣāṇa style, together with features that reveal Gupta characteristics, alone would be enough to indicate that the Pārśvanātha is a work of the early Gupta period. This view may be confirmed by a comparison with the very important Tīrthaṅkara images from Vidiśā that were dedicated during the brief reign of the Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta,[45] c. 375. Similarities between the Patna Parśvanātha and Vidiśā Tīrthaṅkaras include the angular modeling, the exceedingly long arms, and the disproportionate head with eyes not fully downcast in the mature Gupta manner. Overall, the Patna Pārśvanātha is close enough in style to the Vidiśā images that we may suggest that it too was made about 375.

Nevertheless, a few differences between the Vidiśā Tīrthaṅkaras and the Patna Pārśvanātha reveal that very early in the Gupta period, regional characteristics are evident. For example, the Vidiśā figures show the firmly modeled abdomens and generally taut surfaces characteristic of slightly later sculptures in the region, such as the relief of Udayagiri associated with the inscription dated 401/02[46] and the rock-cut sculptures near Paṭhāri dated to the time of the otherwise unknown Mahārāja Jayatsena.[47] On the other hand, the Patna Pārśvanātha emphasizes the rather heavy, massive body form associated with so many sculptures of Magadha both before the Gupta period, for example the Bodhgayā railing, and after, except in the Rājgir-Nālandā region. In details such as the garment worn by the standing attendant illustrated in Plate 5, we see the *dhoti* rendered in a fashion common to several Gupta sculptures from Eastern India, for example the Viṣṇu images from Patna (Plate 26), Hāṅkrail (Plate 12), and Nārhaṭṭa (Plate 37), but only rarely seen on images outside of Eastern India. Thus while sharing general features with contemporary sculptures elsewhere in India, a distinctive regional style was developed, no doubt evolved by the ateliers of the Śuṅga and Kuṣāṇa period that had worked in Magadha.

Chausā, better known in Indian history as the site of the battle in which Humāyūn was defeated by Sher Shāh, evidently was a place of considerable antiquity, as shown by a cache of bronze Jaina images dating to the early years of the Gupta period and by fragments of terracotta panels that once adorned a temple, dating not much later. The site is in Shāhābād District, only six miles west of Buxār, where fine terracottas of the Śuṅga period and inscribed seals at least that old have been found in abundance.[48] They help explain the excellent quality of the Chausā terracotta fragments, the finest of which is a plaque illustrating an episode from the *Rāmāyaṇa*.[49] More important, though, are the eighteen Jaina bronzes. They are by no means all of equally fine quality, nor are they rendered in a uniform style; nevertheless, they are mostly Gupta sculptures that should with very few exceptions be assigned to the fourth century.

One scholar recently has divided the eighteen bronzes into three categories: The two nonfigural sculptures (a finely rendered *dharmacakra* and a *kalpavṛkṣa*) he assigns to the Śuṅga period; the standing figures to the Kuṣāṇa period; and the seated figures to the Gupta period.[50] The reasons given for this dating are not at all convincing and overlook the fact that among both the standing and seated figures distinct styles are represented. Moreover, the bronzes of a single hoard rarely span any great length of time. At such places in

Eastern India as Maināmatī and even Nālandā or outside the region at Sirpur and Pophnar, to cite only a few examples, most of the late bronzes at the site date little more than a generation or two after the earliest. To show the range of styles among the Chausā bronzes, a few standing figures will suffice.

An image of Rṣabhanātha (Plate 6) among the smaller bronzes of this group appears quite close in spirit to the Patna Pārśvanātha and hence can be ascribed to about the same time, c. 375. This figure stands stiffly erect with the arms at the side in the kāyotsarga position and the palms of the hands facing the thighs, not directed outward in the manner of some standing Tīrthaṅkaras of the Kuṣāṇa period.[51] Although the body is somewhat fuller than that of the Patna image, the general appearance is similar. The ungainly proportions of this bronze figure like those of the Pārśvanātha may be reminiscent of the late Kuṣāṇa style, but the swelling forms of the body are Gupta in character. So too are the features of the face, which have much in common with those of the Patna Pārśvanātha, for example, the eyes, still open in the Kuṣāṇa manner but with very heavy lids that anticipate the fully developed Gupta form. Hence, the sculptures must have been made about the same time and in the same region.

This image of Rṣabhanātha appears to be among the later bronzes of the Chausā hoard. Other Chausā figures such as a second standing Rṣabhanātha and a seated Tīrthaṅkara[52] seem to have been made at more or less the same time, contradicting any attempt to correlate the chronology of the bronzes with the position of the figure.

Some Chausā bronzes apparently were made earlier. For example, another standing Tīrthaṅkara from the hoard (Plate 7), showing no attribute to indicate its identification, appears closer to the late Kuṣāṇa style. Although it may be simply a work by a more conservative artist, it was probably made earlier than the bronze Rṣabhanātha just discussed. This figure, like other standing Tīrthaṅkaras, has the arms in kāyotsarga position, but the palms of the hands turn outward as on some Kuṣāṇa images.[53] The small round head with features clearly and sharply delineated, shows especially strong vestiges of the late Kuṣāṇa style at Mathurā. The slightly smiling mouth set onto a depressed area of the face and the rather round, open eyes also recall the late Kuṣāṇa style at Mathurā. The surface of the body, with corpulent stomach and prominent chest, shows no trace of the mature Gupta refinement. In spite of these features, which would suggest a Kuṣāṇa attribution, the flesh is loose, almost flaccid, as seen on fourth-century sculptures like the Patna Pārśvanātha (Plate 4), not firm to the point of ossification as commonly seen on the late Kuṣāṇa Jaina images of Mathurā. Hence though we might call this image a late Kuṣāṇa product to fit it into a dynastic classification, it should be identified more properly as having been made late in the third century, that is, in the period between the end of Kuṣāṇa domination in Northern India and the beginning of the Gupta age.

It is perhaps inaccurate to assign such precise dates to uninscribed works of art in India. This applies especially in the case of the Chausā bronzes, many of which have a provincial quality; I would concede that the stylistic differences that I have ascribed to different dates may, in fact, simply reflect the hands of different artists working at about the same time.

While two Kuṣāṇa bronzes have been found near Mathurā[54] and a very few are known from earlier centuries in other parts of India,[55] the Chausā images are the first large group of bronze sculptures extant from any period in the history of Indian art. They are the earliest Gupta bronzes known from any part of India and the very first bronze sculptures of any period from Eastern India, anticipating the prolific production in this region during subsequent centuries.

Little beside these bronzes is known of the art of Chausā, although the terracotta plaque noted above may have adorned a temple there, much like the terracotta plaques of the Ahicchatrā temple.[56] In any event, there is no need to doubt that they were made locally, and one may postulate as the source for these bronzes Buxār or Pāṭaliputra, which had long-established artistic traditions. During later times, particularly the eighth century, when bronze sculptures are known in far greater numbers, evidence indicates that the bronzes were not manufactured for distribution in a single specialized center, but were made at many places, some major religious or urban centers, others essentially provincial sites.[57]

The sandstone figures of Balarāma, Vāsudeva, and Ekānaṁśā (Plates 8–10) found at Devangaṛh, twelve miles east of Nawādā in Gayā District, also appear to be products of the fourth century, despite their customary attribution to the Kuṣāṇa period.[58] They are especially puzzling as the sole products of their style from that area, distant from any metropolitan or religious center, although sculptures from the seventh century and later abound in the area. Devangaṛh was probably located on a route from Champā to the ancient *tīrtha* site of Gayā, which the modern road follows.

Their fourth-century date is most likely, since like the sculptures discussed above, they at once retain vestiges of the Kuṣāṇa style and reveal features of the new Gupta style. This resemblance is seen most clearly in the image of Vāsudeva, who wears the Kuṣāṇa style turban and follows the iconographic pattern of Kuṣāṇa images of Viṣṇu, namely, the conch in the lower left hand, *cakra* in the upper left, *gadā* in the upper right, and lower right in *abhaya mudrā*.[59] However, these features are not unique to the Kuṣāṇa age. The turban type, for example, is worn by figures as late as the early fifth century, for example in the Udayagiri Vahāra relief.[60] And some rare Viṣṇu images maintain this iconographic pattern through the entire Gupta period, even as late

as the eleventh century,[61] although the vast majority of Gupta Viṣṇu images, especially in Eastern India, substitute the *āyudhapuruṣas*, that is the personifications, for the cakra and gadā and show a lotus in the hand which here is raised in abhaya mudrā. Thus these features do not preclude a date after the Kuṣāṇa period. In fact, there are good reasons to assign the image a Gupta date. Most significantly, the modeling reveals a softened surface with little trace of the stiffness of most later Kuṣāṇa images. Instead of a broad sash worn diagonally across the waist, a narrow one secures the lower garment, and a great garland, the *vanamālā*, commonly adorning Gupta and later Viṣṇu images but not worn by any of the Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu figures, may be seen between the knees and waist. The necklace is a single strand of beads, the ekāvali so commonly worn by Gupta figures, instead of the broad necklace of many strands worn by all known Kuṣāṇa images of Viṣṇu. Hence, the figure surely must be of Gupta date, although it was made almost certainly during the fourth century, since its Kuṣāṇa vestiges are noticeably stronger than those of the Viṣṇu images associated with the inscription of 401/02 at Udayagiri.[62] The image, then, cannot be far removed in date from the Vidiśā Tīrthaṅkaras of Rāmagupta's time, but it is significantly different in conception from these sculptures and from the contemporary Jaina images of Magadha.

The other two figures of the group confirm this date. For example, the Balarāma is modeled quite similarly and wears a generally similar garment and ornaments. His turban type, though unusual at any period, is almost identical to one worn by a Yakṣa from Mathurā that recently, I think quite correctly, has been ascribed to the early Gupta period.[63] The image of Ekānaṁśā wears a lower garment seen often during the Gupta period but not during Kuṣāṇa times, when female figures customarily wore a more revealing diaphanous lower garment secured with a girdle of strings of plaquettes.

The early Gupta date, then, is certain, and only the provenance remains to be explained. During the Gupta period, art seems to have been decentralized, no longer confined to the urban and nearby monastic centers where the monuments had been concentrated during Kuṣāṇa times. This decentralization is most evident in Madhya Pradesh, where monuments of the fifth century are spread over a wide area, distant from the Gupta urban centers.[64] Similarly, in Eastern India we can with good reason imagine that this was a time when monuments were installed distant from the traditional urban and religious centers, though along routes that were now increasingly well traveled. When a monument was planned, the artists probably migrated to the site and then moved on when it was completed. Hence it is unlikely that any established atelier of artists existed at each of the Gupta temple sites as at the urban and monastic centers. The Devangaṛh artists, too, must have come from some center with an established tradition of image making, since the statues conform to the stylistic standards of their time and give no appearance of being provincial works. Earlier work in the vicinity of Devangaṛh is not known, only subsequent works, for example at Aphsaḍ. Hence we can speculate that the artists came from an urban center like Pāṭaliputra, as Devangaṛh is some distance from any significant city of Gupta times.

The seated Buddha image[65] (Plate 11), found near a small ruined temple about 20 feet south of the railing enclosing the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā, in every way stands apart from the other fourth-century works from Eastern India. It is usually considered to be an early Gupta work imported from Mathurā.[66] The early Gupta date can be easily supported, but the figure probably was made locally, in a style that anticipates subsequent developments of the Magadha style; it was not imported from Mathurā as traditionally thought. The Mathurā features, actually based on the early Kuṣāṇa style, may be the result of a migration of artists to this sacred site or else inspiration derived from Mathurā works actually imported to Bodhgayā. In any event, as this was a monastic site, artists likely were maintained here, preserving a style long after it went out of fashion elsewhere.

The figure, slightly larger than life size, is seated in *vajraparyaṅkāsana*, with the left hand, now broken, placed on the left knee and the right hand, also broken, raised in abhaya mudrā. The outer garment covers the left shoulder only, leaving the right shoulder bare. The figure is massive in its proportions, with a full belly and expansive chest, and a large, heavy head. The modeling is soft, giving the impression of pliable flesh. The head is bent slightly downward, and the eyes are fully downcast in the Gupta manner, suggesting the contemplative nature of the figure, by contrast to the open eyes of earlier images.

The three-line inscription on the base of the sculpture is difficult to read in full, since large areas of the stone, especially at the ends and bottom, have flaked away. However, the essential meaning is clear: It records the dedication of a Bodhisattva by one Siharatha on the fifth day of the third month of the year 64 during the reign of the otherwise unknown Mahārāja Trikamala.[67] Some features of the inscription, particularly the reference to the dedication of a Bodhisattva when the iconographic features indicate an image of the Buddha, recall the dedicatory inscriptions of Kuṣāṇa Buddha images from Mathurā and must have provided some evidence for those who initially believed that the sculpture was a product of the Kuṣāṇa school of Mathurā.[68] But as the style precludes a Kuṣāṇa date for the image, that reference in the inscription must be considered simply conservative. Hence although no paramount Gupta sovereign is named in the inscription, the year 64 should be assigned to the Gupta era. This is the only possible era,[69] except perhaps for some local era for which no evidence exists; thus the image must have been made in 383/84 A.D.

Here then we must demonstrate the early Gupta style of the image; first, though, it is worth noting that some stylistic features, like parts of the inscription, are conservative and have led earlier writers to ascribe the sculpture to the Kuṣāṇa age.[70] For example, the drapery is almost identical to the garment of early Kuṣāṇa figures from Mathurā, such as the well-known Buddha from the Kaṭra mound,[71] but quite unlike that of almost all late Kuṣāṇa and Gupta Buddha images from Mathurā, whose garment folds are indicated by raised ridges across the body. Even the modeling bears some resemblance to the early Kuṣāṇa style at Mathurā, although the torso is smoothly modeled in the Gupta fashion, without the distinct chest of most early Kuṣāṇa sculptures from Mathurā. The face is especially characteristic of Gupta sculptures: Unlike the taut flesh and wide open eyes of Kuṣāṇa figures from Mathurā, the full, soft cheeks, thick lips, and downcast, contemplative eyes of the Bodhgayā Buddha all clearly distinguish it from any image datable to the Kuṣāṇa period. These features relate it more closely to such works as a Gupta-period Tīrthaṅkara from Mathurā that probably was made during the first half of the fifth century.[72] Thus the Bodhgayā Buddha is surely datable to the Gupta period. That it is more specifically of the early Gupta period is suggested by certain relationships with the Tīrthaṅkara images from Vidiśā, dated in the reign of Rāmagupta, c. 375. For example, the disproportionately large, heavy head is a feature of both the Vidiśā figures and the Bodhgayā Buddha, as is the decor of the halo, a corner of which can be seen on the left side of the head and neck of the Bodhgayā figure. It is decorated with long, thin lotus leaves that are deeply creased at the center, a feature which goes out of favor during the fifth century and is replaced, especially at Mathurā, by more rounded, lightly creased leaves forming the inner band of decor on the haloes of many fifth-century images.

We may ask, then, how the Gupta date can be reconciled with the early Kuṣāṇa features. The answer, it seems, is that the sculpture was not made at Mathurā, as traditionally assumed, but rather locally, and that the Magadha style of the Gupta period derived considerable inspiration from the early Kuṣāṇa style of Mathurā.[73] For example, the stone, often assumed to indicate a Mathurā provenance, is reddish but is not the mottled Sikri Sandstone so commonly used for sculptures from Mathurā; though there is no stone of this color near Bodhgayā, it occurs as near as Sasarām in the adjacent Shāhābād District. While the stone's appearance provides no certain indication of the provenance of this figure, suggesting only that it may have been made in Magadha, certain of the figure's stylistic features preclude Mathurā as the provenance and indicate that the Buddha was made somewhere in Magadha if not at Bodhgayā itself. Only early Kuṣāṇa images from Mathurā wear a diaphanous garment covering the left shoulder and exposing the right shoulder. However, at Mathurā this fashion was soon replaced by a thick robe covering both shoulders that was marked with stylized folds.[74] Although during a brief period the two fashions overlapped,[75] from the year 50 or 60 of the Kuṣāṇa era onward, this garment marked with folds remained a characteristic feature of Mathurā Buddha images, and not a single Gupta Buddha from Mathurā, seated or standing, is known with the early Kuṣāṇa type of garment.[76] Thus the Bodhgayā Buddha, a Gupta image adorned in a garment of early Kuṣāṇa fashion, could not have been made at Mathurā. Almost every seated Buddha image made in Magadha during the time of this study (cf. the Buddha images illustrated in Plates 63, 136, 137, and 138, all from Bodhgayā) wears this sort of garment. They lack only the Kuṣāṇa vestige of thick pleats on the left shoulder but otherwise support the view that the figure was made locally.

Thus artists must have been active at Bodhgayā in 383/84 A.D. While a piece of such quality would suggest some local precedents, none at Bodhgayā is known between the time of the railing around the Mahābodhi temple, probably dating early in the first century B.C., and the time of this image. However, I would not be the least surprised if pieces of this intervening period someday were discovered, as the site has never been properly excavated. Gupta-period stucco work at Bodhgayā, perhaps indicating an older tradition, is known and discussed later in this chapter, and rather numerous sculptures datable to the fifth century and later attest to the continuing work in stone by the artists of this site.

Since there is no significant time difference between this Buddha from Bodhgayā, the Devangaṛh trio, and the Patna Pārśvanātha as well as most of the Chausā bronzes, the different styles must result from different sources of inspiration. Thus the Bodhgayā image derives its inspiration from the early Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathurā, the Patna and Chausā figures derive theirs from the late Kuṣāṇa sculpture of Mathurā, and the Devangaṛh sculptures derive theirs from yet a third, still undetermined, source. This distinction may indicate that the religion for which the image was dedicated determined the model, although the number of early Gupta sculptures known in Magadha is far too few to permit any but the most tentative conclusions. In the later art of Eastern India, the style is most often determined by the place where the image was made, but it is significant in this regard to note that at Rājgir a Jaina style was maintained through the seventh century quite distinct from the style of Buddhist imagery at nearby Nālandā.

Early Gupta Sculpture: Bengal

Most of the very few Gupta stone sculptures of Bengal come from North Bengal, ancient Puṇḍravardhana. This part of Bengal was probably long included in the Gupta

empire as it is not mentioned in the Allāhābād praśasti of Samudragupta and therefore must have been part of the territory he inherited. However, the region was a considerable distance from the center of the realm[77] and, as the sculptural remains imply, on the cultural as well as political frontier of the Gupta empire. The only early Gupta sculptures of Bengal, those which may be ascribed to the fourth century, are three images found in Puṇḍravardhana, and they appear distinctly more provincial than contemporary sculptures of Magadha.

These three fourth-century stone sculptures are all small: a Viṣṇu from Hāṅkrail (Plate 12) in Mālda District but so close to Rājshāhi District that it must have fallen within ancient Puṇḍravardhana, and two Sūrya images from Rājshāhi District, one from Kumārpur (Plate 13) and the other from Niyāmatpur (Plate 14). S. K. Saraswati, the first to recognize the early characteristics of these figures, ascribed them to the Kuṣāṇa period on the basis of their so-called Kuṣāṇa dress, the rigorous frontality, and the flat relief and harsh angles of the surface and silhouette.[78] These arguments, however, can be easily countered. As for the garment of the Hāṅkrail Viṣṇu, it is not indicative of a Kuṣāṇa date but is encountered frequently among Eastern Indian Viṣṇu sculptures of the Gupta period and later. For example, the Viṣṇu from Chaitānpur (Plate 104), probably a work of the seventh century, shows a similar form of dress. Moreover, the so-called Kuṣāṇa dress of the two Sūrya images is nothing more than the northern dress (*udīcya veśa*) prescribed for Sūrya in all known textual references to the iconography of this deity; it is worn by Sūrya images of the Kuṣāṇa period, the Gupta period, and later times in almost all parts of the subcontinent. The flatness and angularity are simply indications of the provinciality of the sculptures, in no way indications of their date. In any event, the dress certainly would not indicate a Kuṣāṇa date, since it is not a general characteristic of Kuṣāṇa style.

Because the figures are essentially of undistinguished style, iconographic more than stylistic considerations can be adduced to show that the sculptures were made in the Gupta period. Kuṣāṇa images of Viṣṇu invariably hold objects in the hands in the same manner and position as the Devangarh Vāsudeva (Plate 8), though that it not the case with the Hāṅkrail Viṣṇu. While the objects held in the two hands that remain are indistinct, apparently a conch in the upper left and a round object in the upper right, the other two arms were not raised in the fashion of Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu images, that is, with the cakra above the left shoulder and the right hand in abhaya mudrā, but they were extended downward in the Gupta manner, as if to rest on the āyudhapuruṣas or else on the wheel and mace themselves.[79] Moreover, the single strand necklace follows the Gupta, not Kuṣāṇa, fashion, and the low crown anticipates a type seen, though rarely, on later Gupta Viṣṇu images from Bengal, for example, the Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa (Plate 37). The two Sūrya images also cannot be dated to the Kuṣāṇa period. Unlike Kuṣāṇa images, which invariably squat in a *quadriga* and have the left hand on the hilt of a sword and the right hand raised to the shoulder to hold what may be interpreted as a cluster of blossoms,[80] these two images stand erect, holding full lotus blossoms in the fashion of Sūrya images from the Gupta period and later.

The awkwardness of these images suggests a provinciality and certainly reveals nothing of the refinement evident in most Bengali sculptures dating from the sixth century onward. While it is difficult to say for sure that these three sculptures are products of the fourth century, we can at least state that they are among the few known Gupta stone sculptures of Bengal. The Bihārail Buddha, discussed later in this chapter, is surely an import, suggesting that even during the late fifth century Bengali religious establishments were dependent on artists from outside the area; only three other Bengali stone sculptures, a Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa, a similar but derivative one from Haluapara, and a cakra personification from Sālār, all discussed in this chapter, are serious contenders for a Gupta ascription.[81] A few stucco and terracotta sculptures, also considered briefly in this chapter, complete the limited number of Gupta sculptures known from Bengal. At no time during the period of this study is the number of sculptures from Bengal as great as the number from Magadha. Especially few sculptures of the Gupta period survive in Bengal, and the earliest of these reveal a provincial character. Apparently the area has yet to develop into the great cultural center that it will become.

Mature Gupta Art

There is no magical moment during the Gupta period at which the art shifts from an early to a mature phase. Rather, during the fifth century in Eastern India, as in other parts of the Gupta realm, we begin to see a sculptural style less clearly dependent on Mathurā prototypes and, with this independence, a more widespread production of imagery. Some of the artistic activity was concentrated around traditional sacred centers where earlier stone images had been established for worship, some of them imported from Mathurā, others made locally. One such center was Rājgir, an ancient capital of Magadha, which became sacred to the followers of all three major religions of ancient India. Because Nālandā, at its peak the greatest Buddhist monastery in all Asia, was established nearby, we call this the Rājgir-Nālandā area. The art of the area generally is rather coherent in style, different from that of other areas in Eastern India, and so it is meaningful to trace the developments there through the period of this study to the threshold of Pāla times. Another traditional sacred center was Gayā, also an important pilgrimage place for adherents of the major faiths.

On its outskirts is the place that came to be called Bodhgayā, where the Buddha gained Enlightenment. There and at several other places near Gayā, we encounter images whose style is quite distinct from sculptures of the Rājgir-Nālandā area. In most other parts of Eastern India, the Gupta-period artistic activity was scattered, one image here or another there, but in any event indicative of local activity. For convenience, this large territory comprising much of the rest of Eastern India is simply divided into the Gaṅgā Valley and Bengal. These two areas form less coherent cultural or stylistic units than does the Gayā area or the Rājgir-Nālandā area, but they form reasonable areas in which we may examine the changing patterns of artistic development throughout the periods of this study. In subsequent chapters, evidence for more widespread artistic activity emerges and other areas are added to the ones examined during Gupta times: Shāhābād District, separated by the River Son from the rest of Eastern India, though first integrated with the region politically and by Pāla times integrated with it culturally; Singhbhūm District, separated from Eastern India by the Chotā Nāgpur Plateau; and Southeast Bengal, which remained politically indpendent of the major Eastern Indian dynasties but nevertheless evolved a vital artistic tradition.

Identifying these areas and treating the developments in them consistently through the centuries to early Pāla times presents the clearest possible impression of the patterns that evolved. Most of the areas represent age-old cultural units within India, and in the Gupta period they continued to develop distinct, albeit related, artistic traditions. This easily may be seen in the following pages in the distinction, for example, between the style at Rājgir and that at Bodhgayā or the relatively abundant stone sculpture at all of the sites in Magadha by contrast to the much more common use of terracotta in Bengal.

Mature Gupta Scuplture: Rājgir-Nālandā Area

Every indication points to this area as the most artistically active in Eastern India during the Gupta period. This vitality may be because here artists worked for Hindu, Buddhist, and Jaina patrons, whereas in the vicinity of Bodhgayā, almost surely the next most active area in Eastern India at this time, Buddhists were virtually the exclusive patrons. The fifth-century sculptures known from this area are all Jaina works from Rājgir, but dating near the beginning of the sixth century are the superb stuccoes of the Maṇiyār Maṭh, a Hindu monument and more specifically, it seems, a Śaiva one. About this time, the foundations of the great monastery at Nālandā were established, further proving the quickened pace of work in the area.

The only remaining free-standing Gupta sculpture of Rājgir is a black schist statue of the Jaina Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, today placed in a niche of a small shrine just below the ruined temple of Vaibhāra Hill (Plate 15). It is fortunate that this piece is preserved, because the pedestal bears an important two-line inscription. Although it is badly effaced, the inscription was read as follows by Ramprasad Chanda:

[Ma]hārājā[ti]rā[ja] śrī — chandra[82]

Chanda then assumed that, since full imperial titles were used, the inscription must refer to Candragupta II. However, I read clearly only [ma]hārājā near the center of the inscription. Even allowing Chanda's reading of the next three *akṣaras* as [ti] rā [jā], only two more akṣaras remain before the break in the stone. Of these I cannot read the first, and the second is *na* (though possibly *ndra* could be inferred). Hence my reading of the relevant portion is:

[ma]hārājā[ti]rājā . . . na [or ndra] . . .

It is by no means certain that the missing letters complete the name Candragupta, although the figure's style indicates a date early in the fifth century, probably during the reign of Candragupta II (c. 375-413). The seated figure, with hands folded in the lap in *dhyāna mudrā*, shows well-articulated limbs and a sensitive modeling that might suggest a date even later than the Tīrthaṅkara from Mathurā dedicated in the Gupta year 113 (432/33 A.D.) during the reign of Kumāragupta,[83] but the figures on the pedestal, a seated male on either side of a figure standing in front of an oval wheel, belie the hand of a less advanced artist.[84] These figures most clearly suggest that the sculpture was executed closer to the beginning of the fifth century. While they are more refined than fourth-century sculptures of the Gaṅgā Valley in Eastern India, for example the Chausā bronzes and the Patna Pārśvanātha, or even the Tīrthaṅkaras of Rāmagupta's time from Vidiśā, the figures on the pedestal do not yet show the harmony of forms visible in the Tīrthaṅkara dedicated in 432/33. Hence a date between the two, that is, about the beginning of the fifth century, is probable. This dating is supported by the two seated figures on the pedestal, with disproportionately large heads and short, heavy bodies, and also by the standing figure, perhaps a Cakrapuruṣa,[85] whose rather stiffly animated position recalls figures of the Udayagiri relief dated 401/02 A.D.[86] Thus the style of the image shows that it was made early in the fifth century, perhaps during the time of Candragupta II, but the reference to his name in the inscription is unfortunately not certain.

Further evidence for early fifth-century artistic activity in Rājgir comes from the Jaina sculptures carved on the southern wall of the Lower or Eastern Son Bhaṇḍār Cave. The plan and elevation of this cave, and the upper one as well, reflect the style of Mauryan rock-cut sanctuaries in the Barābar Hills. Similarities include the longitudinal orienta-

tion with side entrance and the vaulted ceiling. Whether this form is Mauryan in date or simply a Magadhan characteristic persistent sometime later is impossible to tell in the absence of any inscription or other evidence. In any event, the caves must antedate the Gupta period, for the Jaina images carved in the Lower Cave (Plate 16), probably dating about the time of the Vaibhāra Hill Neminātha, were added long after the sanctuary's construction: The sculptures are irregular in distribution, most being on the viewer's left of the doorway, and show little congruity with the sanctuary's plan. These sculptures resemble closely the form of the Mathurā Tīrthaṅkara dated 432/33, although they are somewhat heavier, and in the case of the standing ones a bit more flaccid, in the manner of many Eastern Indian sculptures. No significant information may be gleaned from an inscription of the Muni Vairadeva recording the dedication of the sanctuaries. Originally the dedication was assigned to the period between the second and fourth centuries on epigraphic grounds,[87] though more recently it has been dated earlier on the basis of a proposed identification of the Muni Vairadeva.[88] Whatever the actual date of the sanctuary's dedication, the sculptures indicate renewed work on the monument early in the fifth century, close to the time of the Neminātha on nearby Vaibhāra Hill. Further evidence for the monument's use at this time comes from brief inscriptions on the cave's exterior, incised in characters that may be attributed to the fifth and sixth centuries. These attest to pilgrims who must have visited the site in numbers that rivaled the multitude who flock there today for a momentary glimpse of the monument, which was probably ancient even in Gupta times.

About the beginning of the sixth century, the great and often perplexing monument now known as the Maṇiyār Maṭh (Plates 17–20) must have been completed. Located about one mile south of the modern town of Rājgir and about 500 yards southeast of the Son Bhaṇḍār Caves, the Maṇiyār Maṭh derives its name from the Jaina temple that stood atop the mound before the site was excavated. Cunningham, thinking that the mound covered a stūpa, sunk a shaft inclining toward the center of the hill. He discovered that the core was "a mere mass of rubbish" and stopped the shaft at a distance of 21½ feet. At a depth of 19 feet, he discovered three small figures that he identifies, but he neither illustrates them nor comments on their probable date.[89] Unfortunately, he missed seeing the greatest treasure of the Maṇiyār Maṭh, which was revealed during the excavations of 1905–06.[90] At that time, Theodor Bloch further excavated the mound, demolishing the Jaina temple and exposing the large brick monument with the great cylinder in its apsidal end (Plate 17). The present appearance of the temple, the result of several successive stages of construction, follows the plan of a much older and somewhat larger temple, whose foundations are still visible beyond the walls of the structure. Since the cylinder in the apse end is hollow and may be entered through a doorway, the plan of the entire monument (figure 1) recalls the sanctuaries of the Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hills, which invariably have a circular chamber at the end of a long rectangular room.[91] The monument is provided with a path for circumambulation around the cylinder, and thus gives the effect of a *sandhāra* temple, one with an enclosed pathway around the sanctum.

Unfortunately, the excavators provided no detailed account of the shrine, so its various stages of construction can only be surmised from features of its present appearance, such as the varying floor levels and different sort of brick. The cylinder that bore the magnificent stucco sculptures discussed below is constructed from a finely formed and neatly joined yellow brick also used in the earliest stages of construction at Nālandā and so must be assigned to the Gupta period.[92] The stucco sculptures, then, are original, not later replacements. Subsequently, the brick wall running tangent to the north side of the cylinder was added, because its brick, though of a slightly different fabric than that of the cylinder, still has much of the same neat shape and well-joined appearance. Finally, the monument enshrining the cylinder was built to replace the original, somewhat larger monument. The brick used in its construction is much darker, more poorly shaped and loosely joined than that used in the original Gupta-period construction. This sequence is confirmed at nearby Nālandā, where, for example at the monasteries of Site No. 1, walls of the coarser, darker brick are superimposed on the lighter, more refined brick, identical to that used in the construction of the Maṇiyār Maṭh cylinder.

Important clues to the date and significance of the Maṇiyār Maṭh come from the superb stucco sculptures of the cylinder. On three sides facing the cardinal directions are niches fashioned into projections that carry images as follows: Viṣṇu (Plate 18) on the east, Gaṇeśa on the south, and Śiva Naṭarāja (Plate 19) on the west; the entrance is on the north side. Between each of the projections were three niches flush with the cylinder, of which only seven were preserved when the monument was excavated. The three on the southwest side contained images of serpent deities, or Nāgas; those on the southeast side contained two Nāgas and a Nāgī (Plate 20). The one remaining on the northeast side contained a liṅga decorated with a garland; all others were destroyed, probably when the wall across the northern side was constructed.

The serpent imagery of the Maṇiyār Maṭh stuccoes is surely of local inspiration and can be traced to a cult of considerable antiquity at Rājgir. It was believed, for example, that the realm of the terrestial Nāgas was located beneath Vaibhāra Hill, which rises just a few hundred yards west of the Maṇiyār Maṭh.[93] Even the name Maṇiyār Maṭh must derive from the name of Maṇi Nāga, of whom a

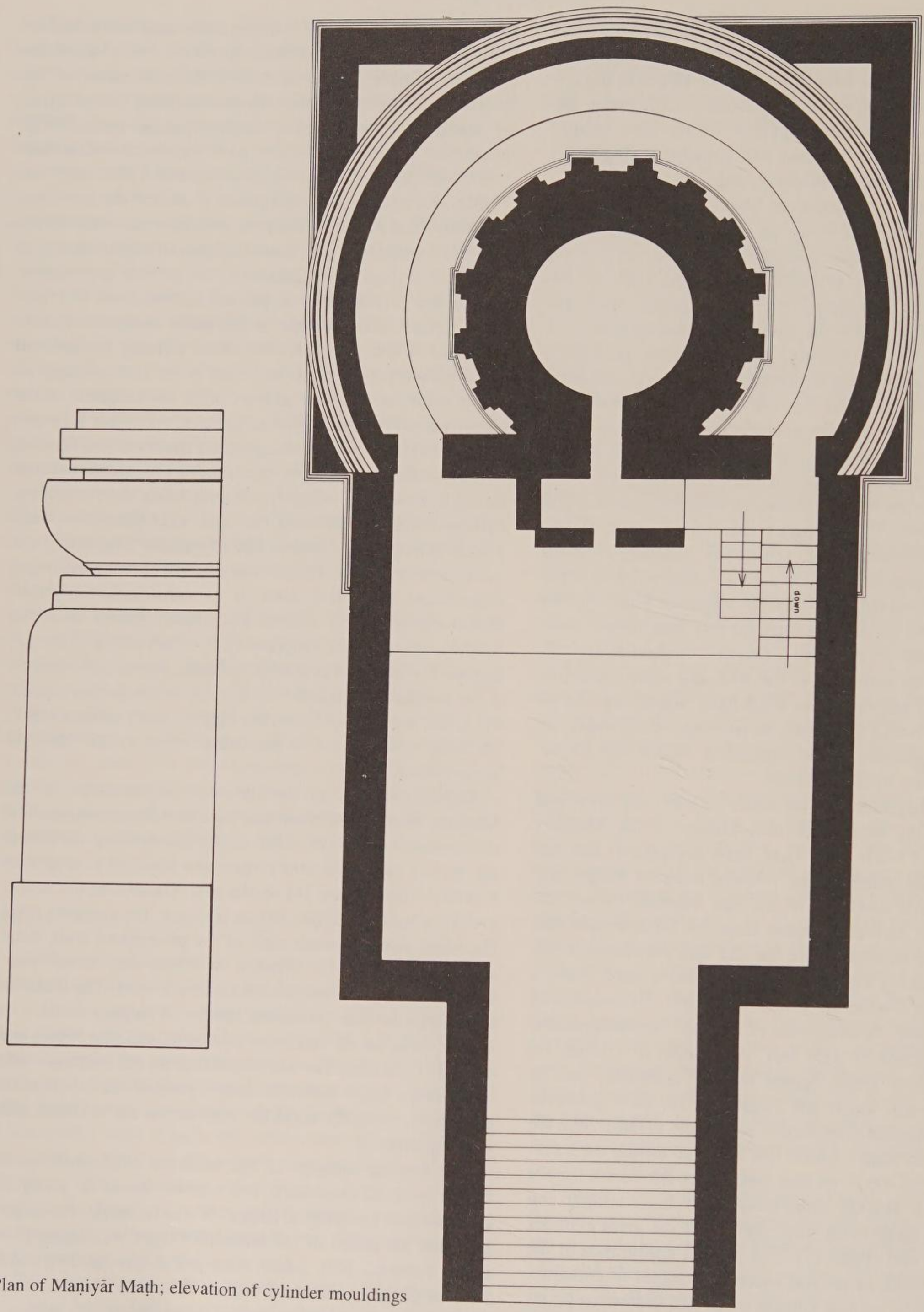


Figure 1. Plan of Maṇiyār Maṭh; elevation of cylinder mouldings

Kuṣāṇa-period image was found in a small brick shrine on the west side of the monument.[94] Elsewhere, too, apsidal structures were used for Nāga temples, for example at Soṅkh near Mathurā.[95] Thus though the plan may be based on old Magadhan models used for rock-cut sanctuaries, it may have been selected because of a long-standing association with Nāga temples, especially at Mathurā, whose impact is so evident in the early Gupta sculpture of Eastern India.

Though a Nāga shrine in one sense, the Maṇiyār Maṭh probably was dedicated to Śiva, and the cylinder served as an enormous liṅga, the phallic emblem of Śiva.[96] This structure adorned with figures around its circumference recalls the appearance of a type of image widely known from Bihar in the east to Rajasthan in the west, identified by J. N. Banerjea as the *pañcāyatana liṅga*.[97] The common feature of these sculptures is a vertical shaft adorned with images of four principal Brahmanical deities facing the four directions. Though widely accepted as syncretistic images implying the harmony of conflicting sects,[98] they are Śaiva images depicting the dominance of Śiva in his liṅga form over the principal deities of other sects. That dominance is implied by two such liṅgas, one from Kāman[99] and the other from Kālyānpur,[100] both in Rajasthan, in which the four faces typical of a *caturmukha liṅga* are placed above the four anthropomorphic images and clearly dominate them.[101] In fact, the faces of the Kālyānpur images are actually larger than the full standing figures of the principal Brahmanical deities.

It is more than just the shape of the cylinder, reminiscent of a liṅga, and the panoply of figures around it, that suggest the association with the pañcāyatana liṅga. The three figures of the principal niches, the ones facing the cardinal directions, as well, recall this sort of Śiva liṅga. These figures, depicting Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, and Śiva, represent three of the deities most commonly selected for depiction on pañcāyatana liṅgas, though admittedly they are not the ones most often depicted on the liṅgas of this sort in Bihar when the iconographic type is firmly established in about the eighth century. Then the figures almost invariably are Viṣṇu, Sūrya, Pārvatī, and Gaṇeśa. But the Maṇiyār Maṭh dates long before the iconography was formalized, so a variation is not in the least surprising. Were this structure to be understood simply as a Śiva temple, then the main niches would carry primarily Śaiva images but generally not an image of Viṣṇu; conversely, if it were a Viṣṇu temple, then primarily Vaiṣṇava images should appear in the main niches, not images of Śiva and Gaṇeśa as well as Viṣṇu. But we can understand the proper meaning of this structure by recognizing that these deities are all subordinate to the liṅga implied by the cylinder, just as on the Kāman and Kālyānpur sculptures the anthropomorphic images of all the deities including Śiva himself are subordinate to the liṅga.

The fourth principal deity, always depicted on pañcāyatanga liṅgas, is missing on the Maṇiyār Maṭh cylinder, but since the doorway occupies that position, there would have been no way of showing it. Had the artists been able to depict the fourth image, Sūyra would have been selected for this position, as the image of the solar god is almost invariably shown on the so-called pañcāyatana liṅgas of all parts of India. Thus the figures in the four principal niches of the Maṇiyār Maṭh cylinder would have been Sūrya, Viṣṇu, Gaṇeśa, and Śiva. Significantly, a liṅga with images of these very deities on the four sides is preserved in the collection of the Bodhgayā Mahant.[102]

Only the serpent deities' association with the great liṅga of Śiva remains to be explained. No literary source provides any clue, but just as the meaning of the so-called pañcāyatana liṅga can be best gleaned from sculptures rather than texts, so another sculpture provides a clue to the association of Nāgas with the Śiva liṅga. These serpent divinities, especially intimately associated with Rājgir, could not be excluded when orthodox sects were introduced, and so they were assigned special roles. For example, in Buddhism they were made the preservers of Sacred Wisdom,[103] while at least among followers of a Śaiva sect nearby they were made special devotees of the liṅga. Confirmation for this role as worshippers of Śiva's phallic emblem comes from a small bronze sculpture, found at Nālandā and today kept in the Nālandā Museum, showing eight Nāgas worshipping a liṅga.[104]

In spite of precautions taken by the Public Works Department, the stucco sculptures have disintegrated, and only three of them, the Viṣṇu (Plate 18), the Naṭarāja (Plate 19), and the Nāgī (Plate 20) were well photographed by the Archaeological Survey. No writer has doubted that these sculptures should be assigned to the Gupta period,[105] but more specifically they appear to be products of the sixth century: The treatment of both the figures and their accouterments recalls the sculptures of the fifth century and closely anticipates the style of the seventh century, especially at nearby Nālandā. The extremely soft modeling of the Viṣṇu resembles the treatment of the late fifth-century Buddha images from Sārnāth and certainly precedes the harsher modeling of the seventh-century stucco images at Nālandā. Also the large sash around the waist of the Viṣṇu is loose and free in the manner of fifth- and sixth-century figures; after the sixth century it appears more reserved as seen, for example, on the seventh-century Cakrapuruṣa from Aphsaḍ (Plate 89). Similarly, the great *mālā-yajñopavīta* indicates a Gupta date for the Maṇiyār Maṭh figures, since after the sixth century all ornament is rendered in lower relief. That the sculptures, however, were made during the sixth century rather than fifth century is suggested by several features. For example, the open eyes of the Viṣṇu image foreshadow the comparatively earthly gaze of images made after the sixth

century. The animated pose of the two āyudhapuruṣas, though developed from the stance of the Cakrapuruṣa on the pedestal of the early fifth-century Vaibhāra Hill Neminātha (Plate 15), appears stiffer and anticipates the pose of a Cakrapuruṣa from Aphsaḍ (Plate 89) and a Kārttikeya from the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Plate 58), both dating to the seventh century. The Nāgī, with softly modeled belly and gently swelling breasts, generally shows a softness like that of the Viṣṇu, although incised lines at the waist and under the breasts substitute for the subtle roundness that modeling effects. Also, the elongated lotus-shaped eyes and sharp outlines of the lips suggest a linearity that postdates the fifth-century style but resembles some figures from Sārnāth ascribed to the sixth century,[106] anticipating the style of the seventh-century Nālandā stuccoes. Thus it is most appropriate to ascribe the sculptures of the Maṇiyār Maṭh to the sixth century.

The stucco sculptures show a new style in Eastern India modeled on imagery from the region of Sārnāth and replacing the older forms derived from the Kuṣāṇa school of Mathurā. The slender bodies, soft, delicate modeling, benign expressions, diaphanous garments, and even the gentle roll of flesh beneath the navel of the Viṣṇu relate these figures to the sensitive form evolved by the Gupta workshop at Sārnāth. While the style was not exclusive to Sārnāth, its development there during a relatively short period may be shown by images at the site,[107] representing the quintessence of quality associated with the Gupta style in general. Such clear affinity with the Sārnāth style suggests the possibility that after the surge of building activity at Sārnāth during the late fifth century, some of the artists migrated eastward, as attested by the large number of images of this time found at the site and the relative dearth of subsequent images there. They might have come either along the River Gaṅgā and then south to Rājgir, perhaps from Pāṭaliputra, or along a route corresponding to the Grand Trunk Road that today passes through Vārāṇasī and runs just a few miles south of Rājgir. These artists may have been lured by available patronage at Rājgir itself, but it seems more likely that they would have been enticed by the commencement of activity at Nālandā during the late fifth and early sixth centuries.

The sculptural remains known today at the great monastery of Nālandā, seven miles north of Rājgir, all date later than the Gupta period,[108] but the monastery must have been established by the end of the fifth century. Hence the remaining foundations at the site probably belong to buildings of this time, and the primary integument of the Great Stūpa at Site Number 3 (Plate 67) also must date to the time of Nālandā's foundation.

Only literary references indicate that a place called Nālandā existed in the vicinity of Rājgir before the Gupta period.[109] All other evidence, including the material remains, epigraphic records, and the memoirs of Fa Hsian contradict the literary evidence. Hence, it seems likely that either the literary references are later interpolations or, alternatively, that only a small monastery was located on the site that subsequently became the Mahāvihāra or Great Monastery. The other evidence points to the foundation of Nālandā late in the fifth century.

At first, the account of Fa Hsian might seem to suggest that Nālandā was established before the early Gupta period. This Chinese pilgrim, traveling during the first decade of the fifth century, is commonly said to have gone to Nālandā, a village that he identified as the place where the Buddha's discipline Śāriputra was born and died.[110] There, he reported, a pagoda had been raised that was still in existence at the time of his visit. However, he does not record seeing any extensive monastery there. More significantly, the location of the village called Nālandā by Fa Hsian does not correspond with that of the excavated Mahāvihāra known from abundant seals to be Nālandā. Instead, the location corresponds more closely with that of Kālapināka, which according to the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang was the village of Śāriputra's birth.[111] In any event, there can be little doubt that if a thriving monastery had existed at Nālandā in Fa Hsian's time, he would not have failed to comment on it explicitly.

The best evidence for the date of Nālandā's establishment comes from seals excavated at the site. These support almost perfectly Hsuan Tsang's account of early royal patronage for the monastery. According to the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim, the vihāra at Nālandā was established not long after the *Nirvāṇa* of the Buddha by a king named Śakrāditya. Work at the site was continued by his son, Buddhagupta-rāja; the third in this line, Tathāgatagupta, added another *sanghārāma* to the site, and finally Balāditya-rāja built a fourth sanghārāma at Nālandā.[112] The identifications of these kings is problematic, although they are generally associated with Gupta monarchs ruling near the end of the fifth century, a considerable time after the Buddha's Nirvāṇa! For example, Śakrāditya has been identified with both Kumāragupta I[113] and Kumāragupta II,[114] while Buddhagupta-rāja is generally assumed to refer to Budhagupta.[115] Tathāgatagupta has been identified with Vainyagupta[116] or as a second epithet for Budhagupta,[117] and Balāditya-rāja has been identified with Narasiṁhagupta[118] and with a recently recognized Narasiṁhagupta II.[119] Whatever the proper identification of the monarchs whom Hsuan Tsang credits with the early patronage of Nālandā, it is widely accepted that they reigned in the late fifth and early sixth century.

Seals and sealings found at Nālandā lend evidence to the view that among the monastery's earliest patrons were Gupta kings ruling near the end of the fifth century and the first half of the following century. Among the seals of Gupta

monarchs known at the site, about 30 in number,[120] none is earlier than the time of Budhagupta. In addition to his seals, seals of Narasiṁhagupta, Kumāragupta III, Vainyagupta, and Viṣṇugupta have been found there. Thus, in essence, seals of Budhagupta and his successors to the end of the dynasty are known from Nālandā, but not seals of his predecessors. While it is not altogether impossible that a seal of one of his immediate predecessors will be found in some future excavation at the site, it is difficult to escape the conclusion that the monastery was established during or shortly before the reign of Budhagupta. However, no sculptural remains of this time are yet known at Nālandā. Only the inner integument of the Great Stūpa of Site 3 and probably the foundations of some of the buildings can be ascribed to such an early period in the development of the site.

Mature Gupta Sculpture: Gayā Area

The Gupta sculptures of this region all have been found in close proximity to the temple now known as the Mahābodhi temple. From the time of its foundation as a building to enshrine the Bodhi Tree, under which the Buddha attained Enlightenment, a *Bodhighara* as the building was called, the temple was modified several times until finally, probably during the sixth century, the shrine was changed dramatically.[121] Then, no longer a Bodhighara, open to the sky, it was transformed to a fully enclosed temple dedicated to the adamantine throne, the *Vajrāsana Gandhakuṭī*, as an inscription called the new temple.[122] Most of the Gupta sculptures of the site may be associated with this major change in orientation.

At the time of this modification, the old standstone railing that enclosed the temple precinct, probably datable to the first century B.C., was enlarged considerably by the addition of granite uprights to enclose a much larger space. Some attempt was made to insure that the Gupta additions would conform to the basic pattern of the much earlier uprights that they supplemented; moreover, no contemporary model to follow existed, since such stone railings had gone out of fashion by the second century. Three-quarter medallions with floral or figural motifs decorate the top and bottom of each upright, and a face of distinctive Gupta style adorns the central medallion of most of the granite posts (Plates 21–22). Because of the abraded condition of the posts and the granite, which is pocked to begin with, it is difficult to form sound judgments on the basis of style about the date of these Gupta uprights. But the faces reveal much of the Gupta softness and delicacy that persisted at least as late as the middle sixth century, as indicated by the Mandasor sculptures of c. 535.[123] None shows the firm outlines and precise detail visible during the seventh century, for example in the stuccoes of Nālandā Site Number 3 (Plates 68–71).

Only one of the Gupta railing pillars, at the western entranceway, is decorated more elaborately than the others.[124] That one shows a stūpa on the exterior face and a standing figure holding a *triśūla*, usually identified as Śiva, on the southern face. In spite of all speculation regarding the significance of this figure — for example, associating it with Śaśāṅka's reputed alteration of the monument in the seventh century[125] or associating it with a worshipper of Śiva who supposedly served as a patron of the newly enlarged monument[126] — this figure, in all probability, is nothing more than a *dvārapāla* of the sort that we find on innumerable Gupta temples.[127]

At the same time that the temple was altered, the polished sandstone slab, probably originally used as the top surface of the altar inside the temple, was provided with a new base (Plate 23). During an earlier restoration of the temple, the slab was probably moved from the inside of the temple to the outside, to be placed beneath a legendary descendant of the original bodhi tree just west of the temple.[128] However, it must have been during the Gupta-period enlargement of the monument that the slab was provided with the brick base decorated with stucco images that remained intact when Cunningham restored the temple during the last century.[129]

Doubtless, this stone slab, symbolizing the *vajrāsana* or adamantine throne, is a Mauryan product. The polished stone is characteristic of Mauryan art, and the *haṁsas* and palmettes are both motifs, though not in combination, seen on the abaci of several Mauryan columns.[130] However, the stucco figures that adorned the brick base when the temple was restored in the nineteenth century surely are of Gupta date. At each end the stucco figures were confined to four panels, two recessed, each with a lion, and two projecting, each with a pot-bellied dwarf. The faces of the dwarfs are close enough in style to the faces on some of the granite railing posts at the site to suggest that this stucco work was added when the railing was enlarged.

The date of this major restoration cannot be determined with any real precision; most likely it was some time during the sixth century, perhaps even after the fall of the Gupta dynasty. Stylistic considerations indicate only that the granite railing uprights and the stucco dwarfs were executed later than the sculptures of the Bhumārā temple of c. 475[131] but earlier than the stucco figures of the stūpa at Nālandā Site Number 3, datable to the first half of the seventh century. Perhaps closest in style to these figures are the images of the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir (Plates 18–19). Among dated monuments only the *gaṇas* on the frieze below the veranda entranceway and below the pedestals of some of the major sculptures of Cave III at distant Bādāmi, dated 578, show similar form and movement.[132]

Epigraphic considerations, too, confirm a sixth-century date for the enlargement of the temple, the carving of the granite pillars for the railing and the moulding of the stucco

figures on the base of the vajrāsana. No inscription at Bodhgayā explicitly refers to the extensive renovations; however, some inferences regarding the date of the renovations may be drawn from several epigraphs that on the basis of their date or style of writing may be assigned to the Gupta period and the decades immediately following its apparent end. Of these, none mentions the name of a Gupta monarch, not even a local monarch, and all refer to dedications by monks from outside of the region.

Of these inscriptions the most important are two that provide insights into the function of the newly enlarged temple. One is a long stone tablet inscription of the Ceylonese monk Mahānāman. Dated in the year 269, probably of the Gupta era and so equivalent to 588/89 A.D., it records the establishment of a beautiful mansion of the Teacher (*kāntaḥ prāsāda . . . loka-śāstuḥ*) in the Bodhimaṇḍa.[133] While the building cannot be identified with certainty, it is possible that Mahānāman's mansion of the Teacher refers to the Mahābodhi temple; evidence exists that about this time the temple came to be conceived as a dwelling place of the Buddha and no longer as a Bodhighara or Bodhi Tree shrine. That evidence comes largely from an inscription probably datable somewhat later than Mahānāman's. It refers to the provision of new plaster and paint for the temple, which it calls the *vajrāsana-vṛhad-gandhakuṭī*,[134] that is, the great dwelling place of the Buddha that enshrines the vajrāsana or adamantine throne.[135] There is no way to determine whether this inscription refers to the first coat of plaster and paint on the newly enlarged temple or to the first restoration after enlargement. But this question is not of great consequence, especially as the inscription bears no date. The significance of the inscription lies in its provision of the new name and purpose of the enlarged temple.

These inscriptions and others contemporary with them indicate a spate of activity at Bodhgayā during the late sixth century, following a period of relative inactivity at the site. Between the year 64, presumably of the Gupta era, when a Buddha image discussed earlier in this chapter was dedicated, and the year 269, also presumably of the Gupta era, there are no known inscriptions at the site.[136] But roughly contemporary with Mahānāman's dedication of the year 269, that is 588/89 A.D., are several other inscriptions. Among these is an undated epigraph of the same monk, recording his gift of an image.[137] Also inscribed to this time on the basis of epigraphic style is an inscription by two Śakya *bhikṣus* named Dharmagupta and Dhaṁṣṭrasena, residents of Tiṣyāmratīrtha, still unidentified, who dedicated an image at Bodhgayā.[138] This concurrent activity does not seem to be a chance occurrance but most likely coincides with the enlargement and altered function of the temple.

Among the Gupta sculptures of Bodhgayā, the newly carved railing pillars required to enclose the enlarged temple have already been discussed. So has the Buddha dated to the year 64 (383/84 A.D.), one of the earliest Gupta images, especially significant since it shows the extraordinary impact of the early Kuṣāṇa style of Mathurā on the art of Bodhgayā.

Dating to the next century, though showing the persistent influence of the Mathurā style at Bodhgayā, is a life-size standing Buddha image from the site (Plate 24), now in the collection of the Bodhgayā Mahant. No longer is the early Kuṣāṇa style reflected in this image but a later one, more like the Mathurā sculptural form apparent in the Patna Pārśvanātha (Plate 4). This black stone Buddha shows little of the grace and elegance that imbued much of the art of Eastern India following the end of the fifth century, no doubt under the impact of the mature Gupta style of Sārnāth. Instead, the erect posture without any indication of déhanchement and rather broad, massive form recall figures from Mathurā datable to the first half of the fifth century and a few Sārnāth figures of that time that were made while the influence of Mathurā persisted there.[139] This date is further confirmed by the large head with partially opened eyes, prominent raised brows, and relatively thick lips, all features seen also on the Buddha from Mankuwār customarily dated 448/49, though more likely made early in the fifth century.[140] The relatively early date of this Buddha from Bodhgayā is also indicated by the scallops at the edge of the *prabhāvalī*, as they are reminiscent of those used often during the Kuṣāṇa period[141] but rarely in Gupta times.

This sculpture, together with the image of the year 64, shows the presence of artists at the site during the Gupta period, probably the descendents of the masters who had much earlier made the sandstone railing around the temple. If ever systematic excavations are conducted at Bodhgayā, it would not be surprising if they yielded still more images of this period. In any case, indigenous artists apparently were present, and they most likely had sufficient experience to supervise and perhaps even to carry out fully the enlargement of the temple. Hence here we do not see such profound impact of the Sārnāth style as in the region of Rājgir and Nālandā, where either the undertaking was so large that it necessitated importing additional artists, or else because of the absence of an established and active workshop there, artists from Sārnāth formed the primary, not a supplementary, force. The latter is more likely in light of the absence of locally made pre-Gupta sculptural remains in and near Rājgir. Only the Kuṣāṇa-period Maṇināga relief found at Rājgir but imported from Mathurā[142] indicates patronage there, presumably indigenous patronage, but not any local artists.

The reverse seems to have been true at Bodhgayā. There, the artists apparently were local but the patrons came from elsewhere. In the inscriptions of Bodhgayā, the pilgrims, perhaps only to stress that they had made the pilgrimage,

note their place of origin. That practice is quite different from what we encounter elsewhere, for example at Sārnāth, the site of the Buddha's First Sermon, where the benefactors apparently felt no such need to stress their place of origin.[143] As if to underscore the lack of local patronage, not even a local king's name is mentioned to establish time in the inscriptions of Bodhgayā written after the year 64. However, at the nearby Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hills, royal patronage was given for Brahmanical monuments at this very time. Although only a few Gupta sculptures and inscriptions are known from Bodhgayā — surely a small fraction of the original number — they provide good reason to believe that the site received scant local support.

Mature Gupta Sculpture: The Gaṅgā Valley

Along the valley of the River Gaṅgā, several sites have yielded Gupta remains, and the fine quality of many of these suggests highly skilled workshops that were probably far more prolific than the occasional sculptures thus far discovered would indicate. This abundance is most notable in and around modern Patna, probably not the Gupta capital but still a cultural center during this period. Yet the modern city has made any systematic archaeological exploration impossible, although chance finds, all sculptures carved from buff sandstone, indicate an active atelier there during the Gupta period. Further east along the Gaṅgā, significant remains have been found at Rājona in Monghyr District and at several sites in Bhāgalpur District — Sultānganj and nearby Shāhkuṇḍ as well as at Pātharghāṭā.

Two sculptures from Patna are typical of the few small Gupta figures recovered from the city. One is a sandstone Buddha head (Plate 25) excavated at Kumrahar and now in the Patna Museum.[144] Although most likely a product of the sixth century, it is executed in a manner reminiscent of the late fifth-century sculptures of Sārnāth but is fuller and more pudgy, as Eastern Indian sculptures at this time often appear. This Buddha head, one of the few stone figures of any period excavated at Kumrahar, was found in the context of other Buddhist remains,[145] possibly associated with Ārogya Vihāra, presumed on the evidence of a seal excavated at Kumrahar to have been situated there.[146]

A standing Viṣṇu image from Patna (Plate 26) probably also dates to the sixth century. Carved from buff sandstone, the figure stands in an *ābhaṅga* pose rather than the more conventional erect posture of Viṣṇu figures. The back left and right hands rest on the wheel and mace, respectively, while the fingers of the forward left hand are placed inside the opening of a conch shell, as seen frequently on images datable through the fifth century though rarely later;[147] the forward right hand has broken away. While neither excellently executed nor perfectly preserved, the figure may be related to a few other Viṣṇu images of this time from Eastern India that are also depicted in the ābhaṅga pose, namely the Narasiṁha from Shāhkuṇḍ (Plate 32) and the Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa (Plate 37), both discussed below. However, Viṣṇu images in this pose are neither found elsewhere in India during the Gupta period nor attested in any known text.

These sculptures from Patna, and others even of later date, continue a much older tradition of that place in the use of buff sandstone as the principal medium. Earlier, during the fourth century, it was used for the life-size Pārśvanātha from Patna; still earlier, during the Kuṣāṇa age and the first two centuries B.C., buff sandstone was the primary medium used by the sculptors of Pāṭaliputra. These artists thus continued a tradition established by their predecessors during the Maurya age, when the stone widely identified as Chunār Sandstone was almost the exclusive medium. How and why this medium was replaced elsewhere in Eastern India, even as early as the fifth century, by dark gray or black schist is impossible to say, but the scant remains known from Patna show that buff sandstone continued to be the favored medium there just as it did all over Shāhābād District immediately to the west, through which it was probably transported from the quarry at Chunār.

Eastward along the Gaṅgā, two pillars adorned with fine reliefs datable to the late fifth or early sixth century (Plates 27–29) have been found at the Rahugaṛh Mound of Rājaona, two miles northwest of Lakhi Sarai in Monghyr District.[148] Only 13 miles north of Nonagaṛh, a site that has yielded a Kuṣāṇa sculpture imported from Mathurā,[149] Rājaona stands within a cultural center of considerable antiquity and evidently, as Cunningham has shown, of considerable size as well.[150] Yet Fa Hsian passed over this area without comment, apparently moving from Pāṭaliputra briefly through Champā and then onward to Tāmralipta.[151]

Although some sculptures of the tenth and eleventh century remain at Rājaona today, these pillars are the only Gupta works and the sole remains of what must have been a Śiva temple there. Short pillars like these are used elsewhere in Eastern India for the porch of a brick temple, for example, during the early eighth century at Deo Baruṇārk in Shāhābād District;[152] these too must have supported a *maṇḍapa* roof. The Gupta temple to which they belong no longer remains standing, although its ruins may lie beneath one of the several mounds visible at the site, or else the bricks were hauled away for use in some modern construction, perhaps as ballast for the railway.[153] Today the pillars are preserved in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.

The pillars are square in section and decorated on each of the four sides with a rectangular relief panel framed by pilasters and situated beneath a semicircular panel containing a *kīrttimukha* or *kinnarī*. The format seems to be modified from a standard Gupta-period pillar, on which a rectangular panel bearing an ornate floral motif is placed be-

neath a lunette enclosing figures of the sort seen on the Rājaona pillars.[154] Instead of a strictly floral motif in the rectangular panel, the Rājaona pillars carry finely sculptured figural scenes illustrating several distinctly Śaiva themes, providing evidence that the temple was dedicated to Śiva. Though small reliefs, they are not insignificant; R. D. Banerji once called them the finest sculptures of what he termed the Pāṭaliputra school of the Gupta period.[155]

Two of the pillar faces may exemplify the sculptural style of all eight sides. One face (Plate 28) shows the semicircular panel at the top containing a recumbant kinnarī whose magnificently floriate tail fills more than half the space. The spiraling floral form and rich undercutting of the beast's tail are characteristic of the Gupta floral motif, such as that seen on doorways of the fifth and sixth century temples and on the haloes of images of the same period. The rectangular panel below shows Śiva and his consort seated on rocks symbolizing Mount Kailāsa to the right; to the left a supplicant, probably Arjuna, kneels before a four-armed figure who may be a personification of the powerful *pāśupata* weapon.[156] The richly carved floral motifs and elegantly graceful figures in this scene leave no doubt that it may be assigned to the Gupta period, probably close to the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century. This date makes the pillars essentially contemporary with the Gupta temples at Nāchnā and Deogaṛh, whose sculptures have much in common with the figure style and floral motifs of the Rājaona pillars.

The panel illustrating Śiva receiving Gaṅgā (Plate 29), apparently drawn from the story of Bhagīratha's penance,[157] shows the river goddess to the right on her *makara vāhana*, with an attendant holding a parsol over her head. Above is a bird bearing a necklace, common to depictions of the river goddesses in Eastern India but seen only rarely outside of the region.[158] To the left Śiva is seated in *sukhāsana*, attended by three men, two standing and one kneeling. The easy pose and elongated torso of the seated Śiva, of the river goddess, and also of the seated Śiva in the panel discussed above are reminiscent of the elegant Viṣṇu reclining on the coils of Śeṣa illustrated on the south side of the late fifth-century or early sixth-century Deogaṛh temple. Also related to images of this same time are Śiva's three attendants, who do not stand passively, but lean forward as if animated in the manner of the āyudhapuruṣas who accompany the Maṇiyār Maṭh Viṣṇu, and their loosely knotted sashes resemble that of the stucco Viṣṇu himself. In other respects, for example, the vitality of the composition and solid stature of many of the figures, the reliefs may be related to the Nepalese Trivikrama image of 467 A.D. remaining in situ at Mṛgasthali in Kathmandu.[159] Thus all stylistic comparisons indicate a date close to 500 for the Rājaona pillars. Most commonly, their date has been determined by graffiti carved on the pillars,[160] but there is no real agreement about the date of these inscriptions. In any event, the inscriptions can at best be accepted as a *terminus ante quem*.

About 45 miles east of Rājaona in the Gaṅgā River at Sultānganj is an island formed by a huge rocky projection known as Jahāngīra Rock. Images mostly dating to the eighth century have been profusely carved on these rocks, but at least one of the carvings, a great deal earlier than the others, dates to the late fifth or sixth century. This carving is a figure of Viṣṇu in the act of creating the world while reclining on the coils of the serpent Ananta, that is, an image of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī (Plate 30). This sculpture is significantly placed, for the waters of the Gaṅgā serve as a reminder of the primeval ocean, while the rock metaphorically becomes the floating firmament that the great god has just created before resuming his cosmic slumber. The four-armed Viṣṇu supports his head with one hand in the customary fashion, as if to suggest he momentary arousal from sleep during which he kills the demons Madhu and Kaiṭabha, who are shown in the upper right portion of the relief. In the left hand he holds the conch and the stalk of the lotus which issues from his navel, while in his one free right hand is a rosary as held by other Gupta Viṣṇu images of this area, for example the Narasiṁha from Shāhkuṇḍ, but not by the later Viṣṇu images of this very place. In addition, the lithe pose, curved in the ābhaṅga fashion unique to Gupta Viṣṇu images from Eastern India, and finely modeled form stand in marked contrast to the formalized eight-century sculptures of Jahāngīra Rock.

Very few other sculptures of Jahāngīra Rock are contemporary with this Viṣṇu. But of special importance is a fine Varāha image (Plate 31) showing much of the same vitality as the reclining Viṣṇu. The placement of this figure, too, just above the water line lends the impression that the boar has plucked the earth from the waters below that thus assume the character of the cosmic ocean, while the rock metaphorically becomes the emerging firmament, the earth itself. These are the same symbolic meanings imparted to Jahāngīra Rock and the Gaṅgā below by the image of Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī.

Originally all the sculptures of Jahāngīra Rock were ascribed to the Gupta period;[161] later, some were dated to Gupta times and others to the period loosely called the post-Gupta period.[162] However, only the Anantaśāyī and Varāha, together with a few small figures on the rock, can sustain an early attribution. Thus it is not surprising that both Fa Hsian and the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang failed to mention this prominent rocky island. Moreover, it is a Hindu monument that would have received scant attention from these Buddhist pilgrims.

Just six miles south of Sultānganj, artists were also active during the late fifth or the sixth century. There, rising to the west of the modern road at Shāhkuṇḍ, is a hill known as Kheri that once must have carried several temples, for on a

plateau near the summit are many Śiva liṅgas all without faces except for one, a granite *Ekamukha Liṅga* that may be ascribed to the late fifth or sixth century. At the base of the hill's west side, the far side from Shāhkuṇḍ, is a small modern temple that enshrines a superbly carved Narasiṁha of dark gray stone (Plate 32), also datable to the late fifth or early sixth century.[163] Like the Viṣṇu from Patna of the same period, this image stands in an ābhaṅga pose leaning toward his left, and like most other Gupta images of Narasiṁha, there is no figure of Hiraṇyakaśipu. The back hands rest on the wheel and mace, while the fingers of the front left hand are placed inside the opening of the conch and the front right hand holds a small rosary like the contemporary Viṣṇu of nearby Jahāngīra Rock. Many features confirm the date, for example the great richly cut locks of hair and the body form that closely resembles that of the figures on the Rājaona pillars.

From Sultānganj thirty-five miles eastward along the River Gaṅgā is Pātharghāṭā. There on a rocky outcropping located near the summit of a hill overlooking the Gaṅgā, artists of the late fifth or sixth century carved a long continuous relief extending for almost fifty feet. Because of its many closely spaced figures, the sculpture is locally called Caurasi-Muni, that is, the Eighty-Four Sages, though the subject of the relief is clearly Vaiṣṇava. At the beginning of the relief, that is, at the left of this long rock, is a standing representation of Viṣṇu and then the *avatāras* Narasiṁha and Trivikrama. Following a bend in the rock, the longest expanse is devoted to episodes from the life of Kṛṣṇa, leaving no doubt about the identity of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu at this time. First Kṛṣṇa is shown as the great warrior mounted on the back of Garuḍa (Plate 33). He has descended to earth, probably amidst the Pāṇḍavas, and has just released his mighty discus, which severs the head of an enemy, no doubt a Kaurava. The next scene, with demonic-appearing figures attending the principal seated noble, probably illustrates an episode from the court of Kaṁsa, while the final two scenes are more specifically identifiable. Kṛṣṇa supporting Mount Govardhana appears next (Plate 34) and, with the representations of this act from Vārāṇasī and from Maṇḍor in Rajasthan,[164] is the earliest depiction of this popular story. The last scene illustrates Kṛṣṇa's wrestling match with Cāṇūra (Plate 35), one of the only scupltural illustrations of this episode. In all of the scenes of the Pātharghāṭā relief, Viṣṇu is shown as mighty in battle, the protector of his people. Even the avatāras selected for illustration on this rock-cut relief, Narasiṁha and Trivikrama, the slayers of evil, correspond well with this theme. An inscription might give us some insight into the significance of the sculptures, but in the absence of one, we can guess that they serve as an allegory for a monarch who had them carved. As no local king is known, could it be one of the final Gupta kings, whose territory by the sixth century was restricted to Eastern India, a small portion of their original empire? That alone might explain the need for exalted allegorical imagery. A century earlier a Gupta king had used Vaiṣṇava imagery for allegorical purposes at Udayagiri,[165] but then, when the empire was at its maximum extent, the allegory was justified.

Bloch was the first writer to hazard a guess at the date of the reliefs,[166] and others who mention the sculptures only in passing have reiterated his date of sixth or seventh century.[167] The seventh century would be too late for these sculptures, as they are certainly much closer to Gupta traditions than the stucco reliefs of Aphsaḍ illustrating Rāmāyaṇa scenes (Plates 83–86) and much earlier than the eighth-century rock-cut reliefs of Sultānganj (Plates 196–199). The closest local comparison is to the style of the Rājaona pillars (Plates 27–29), though these reliefs correspond as well with a broad range of Gupta relief sculpture. For the next century and a half, no new sculptures were made here or anywhere else nearby, although a tradition regarding the sanctity of this place must have been maintained, for it was only a mile from Pātharghāṭā that Dharmapāla established the renowned Vikramaśīla monastery in the eighth century.[168]

Pātharghāṭā is located just twenty miles east of Bhāgalpur, the site of ancient Champā, while Sultānganj is located only fifteen miles to the west. Champā was once the capital of the kingdom of Aṅga, though by the fifth century Aṅga was fully merged with Magadha.[169] Still, it remained an important city at this time, the last place mentioned by Fa Hsian before he reached the seaport of Tāmralipta. The sites discussed from Rājaona eastward to Pātharghāṭā are all lcoated along the route that ran from Tāmralipta to Champā and then westward to Pāṭaliputra and Gayā, yet none of them marks an important city, at least none is known from the Chinese pilgrims or any other source. Instead, they must have been villages that could have accommodated travelers during overnight halts and serviced their material as well as spiritual needs.

Mature Gupta Sculpture: Bengal

Only a few stone sculptures, together with some stucco and terracotta images, form the known corpus of mature Gupta sculpture from Bengal. However, there is evidence of a more extensive Gupta art in Bengal than now apparent. The evidence includes inscriptions cited earlier in this chapter, referring to temples that no longer remain, and the actual lower part of a brick temple that once may have been adorned with stucco sculptures.

Of the stone sculptures, one was certainly made outside of Eastern India, probably at Sārnāth. The Buddha image found at Bihārail (Plate 36), about 30 miles northeast of Rājshāhi, is rendered in a style that corresponds perfectly with that of the Sārnāth images made during the last quarter

of the fifth century.[170] Moreover, the figure is carved from buff-colored sandstone used consistently for the Gupta sculptures of Sārnāth, quite different from the gray or black schist used almost without exception for the large and refined sculptures of Eastern India datable to the fifth century and later. Thus it is not a local production influenced by Sārnāth artists, as is much of the early art of Nālandā, but an actual import from Sārnāth.

The school of Sārnāth, though prolific, was not noted for its exports. The situation had changed considerably since Kuṣāṇa times, when much of northern India was heavily dependent on a single center, Mathurā, for its religious imagery. Now, during the Gupta age, workshops had evolved over a wide area of the subcontinent to supply local needs. However, the paucity of Gupta stone sculpture in Bengal suggests that at this time the local workshops were unable to satisfy the needs of the region. Sārnāth had been long renowned as a great monastic and pilgrimage site, one of the four most holy centers of Buddhism; as artists from Sārnāth probably migrated eastward to work at the newly established monasteries, the reputation of Sārnāth as an artistic center must have spread. Hence it is not surprising that a patron in Bengal would turn to the Sārnāth atelier for an image, which could be easily transported down the Gaṅgā almost to Bihārail itself.

But Bengal was not entirely dependent on imports, although very few locally produced stone sculptures of Gupta times survive from this part of Eastern India. The few that remain, however, are a great deal more sophisticated than the images of Bengal ascribed to early Gupta times (Plates 12–14), as if the Gupta dynasty, now restricted to Eastern India, were in some way responsible for the change. This new form is well shown by one of the mature Gupta sculptures from Bengal, an image of Viṣṇu (Plate 37) discovered recently at Nārhaṭṭa, about ten miles west of Bogra. The figure, finely carved from dark gray stone, stands in a subtle ābhaṅga pose, leaning toward the right in the manner of several other Gupta Viṣṇu images from Eastern India. Like the earlier Haṅkrail Viṣṇu (Plate 12), this figure wears a short dhoti ending above the knees but with a long pleat falling between the legs to the pedestal. No jewelry at all adorns the upper body, much like a Viṣṇu image of only slightly later date from Koṅch (Plate 65), and no upper garment is apparent. In keeping with Viṣṇu images of the period from all parts of Eastern India, this figure is not decked in the great garland (vanamālā) customarily worn by images of Viṣṇu from all other parts of India. A crown of the sort worn by the Hāṅkrail Viṣṇu and earrings complete the figure's adornment. The two forward hands are placed on the rim of a wheel mounted on a pedestal and on the handle of a fluted mace, not on personifications of these two attributes, as we find more typically in Gupta art. Such treatment of the wheel and mace is known as far away as Taxila,[171] but it is also known along the Gaṅgā Valley in Eastern India and may be seen, for example, on the Narasiṁha at Shāhkunḍ (Plate 32).

The third-century or fourth-century date ascribed to this image[172] seems too early, for the figure is far more refined than any of that time, a period of notably awkward sculptures. In fact, it is unlikely that the sculpture was made any earlier than the late fifth or early sixth century, about the time of the Shāhkunḍ Narasiṁha. Not only the form of the body, but also one iconographic feature indicates this date: Viṣṇu supports the conch from its base but does not place the fingers in the opening as customary for Viṣṇu images datable at least through the first half of the fifth century.

At the bottom of a dry tank at Sālār in Murśidābād District, a sculpture was found depicting a wheel with a male figure posed against each side (Plate 38); it is now in the Baṅgiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta. This type of image, though rarely encountered outside of Eastern India, is known in several later examples widely distributed across the region (Plates 91–94, 153, 154, 238). It was first identified as an image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara and dated to the early part of the sixth century, specifically to the time of Vainyagupta (c. 504–514).[173] The date is close to being correct, although the identification clearly is not. Its date was determined by comparison with a figure of similar iconography and elongated proportions but quite crudely executed, a figure that appears on the seal of a copperplate inscription of Vijayasena found at Mallasārul in Burdwān District, about 75 direct miles southwest of Sālār.[174] The inscription records a land grant by a Mahārāja Vijayasena who is probably the same Vijayasena identified as a *Mahāsāmanta* in the Gunaighar copperplate inscription of 506/07, during the reign of Vainyagupta.[175] However, Vainyagupta was not the reigning monarch when the Mallasārul land grant was made; the Mahārājādhirāja Gopacandra, also known from inscriptions found at Faridpur,[176] was then the paramount sovereign. Vijayasena apparently was a feudatory of both Vainyagupta and his successor Gopacandra, a *Mahāsāmanta* under the former and a Mahārāja under the latter.

Other stylistic considerations support the attribution of this sculpture to the early sixth century. The form of the male figures on each side could have developed from that of the Nārhaṭṭa Viṣṇu (Plate 37), but they are more gracefully elongated than the Nārhaṭṭa image, thus suggesting that the sculptor had responded to the influence of the Sārnāth style in Eastern India at this time.

This image can be none other than a Cakrapuruṣa, a personification of Viṣṇu's wheel,[177] and it must have served as an emblem, that is a *dhvaja*, atop a pillar that stood before a temple of Viṣṇu. Although the god's vehicle, Garuḍa, is commonly placed on a staff in front of a Viṣṇu temple, a Cakrapuruṣa is used here and occasionally elsewhere. Most

significantly at Eran in Madhya Pradesh, a similar double-sided figure surmounts a pillar that bears an inscription identifying it as an emblem pillar (*dhvajastambha*) for a temple of Viṣṇu.[178]

Besides being Viṣṇu's attribute, the wheel is rich in imperial meaning, hence a particularly appropriate royal emblem;[179] the dual-sided appearance of this sculpture is a reminder of the universality that the wheel suggests. Thus we can understand why, as we learn from the seal on the Mallasārul copperplate inscription, Vijayasena adopted the personification of the wheel as his royal emblem. The dual meaning of the image as emblem of the god Viṣṇu and of the king is intentional, as evidenced by the inscription of Budhagupta dated 484/85 on the pillar at Eran, surmounted by a double-sided sculpture that closely anticipates this one from Sālār.[180] There the inscription, ostensibly recording the erection of the emblem pillar before a temple of Viṣṇu, extols at length the virtues of the monarch, as if the pillar were intended as much to draw attention to him as to the temple he had dedicated. If we are correct in presuming that the Sālār image stood atop a similar pillar, perhaps one with an inscription of Vijayasena, it is not hard to imagine how much more poignant this image would be, as it was at once the emblem of the king and the god Viṣṇu. If Viṣṇu and the monarch share an emblem, the identity of the two could be implied.

It may be difficult to believe that the Sālār image and the Nārhaṭṭa Viṣṇu, developed and refined creations, should be among the only examples of mature Gupta stone sculpture produced in Bengal. However, only one other image that I know of may be identified as a mature Gupta stone sculpture from Bengal. This image is a small stone Viṣṇu from Haluapara in Comilla District,[181] in many ways a provincial version of the Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa. We find this same situation in the following two centuries, when the small number of stone sculptures in Bengal seems entirely out of keeping with the refined quality, indicative of active, experienced artists. The findspot of these three mature Gupta stone sculptures corresponds well with our expectations. The Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa, near Mahāsthāngaṛh, continues a long-standing artistic tradition there marked by terracotta sculptures datable as early as the second century B.C. and by a stone sculpture, of Kārttikeya (Plate 3) datable to the late Kuṣāṇa period, as well as by abundant Gupta terracottas contemporary with this Viṣṇu. The Sālār sculpture, though found in Bengal, came from a place close enough to the Gaṅgā Valley of Magadha that it could have been made by an artist from that area. The image from Haluapara, probably made by an artist trained at Mahāsthāngaṛh, appears to stand at the beginning of a development in Samaṭata known best from the remains of Maināmatī. It is not altogether surprising that no other mature Gupta stone sculptures have been located elsewhere in Bengal. Unlike Magadha, whose artistic heritage can be traced back to the Maurya period, Bengal had no ancient stone sculpture tradition that we know. However, work in terracotta and stucco was certainly extensive in Bengal during the Gupta period and succeeding times.

While we pay little heed to the fragmentary stucco and terracotta sculptures of Magadha to the west, some Bengali sculptures of the Gupta period in these two media are especially significant, indicating artistic activity that demonstrates both the continuity of a tradition and the anticipation of one of the most important forms of expression in the plastic arts of Bengal. In addition, they show that artists were widely active in Bengal during the Gupta period, contrary to the impression we might gain from a study of the scant stone remains. The stucco and terracotta sculptures were recovered from sites mostly on routes connecting either Tāmralipta or Puṇḍranagara (Mahāsthāngaṛh), the major urban centers of Bengal at this time, with Magadha.[182]

At Panna, 25 miles northwest of the famous ancient seaport at Tāmralipta, some Gupta-period terracotta sculptures, presumably chance finds, have been known for several years. These include an especially sensitive head (Plate 39) now in the Asutosh Museum, whose fine treatment anticipates the appearance of later terracotta sculptures, for example at Pāhārpur, which often impart a sense of freedom not seen in contemporary stone sculpture. Other terracotta heads and a terracotta standing female figure from the site are now housed in the West Bengal State Archaeological Gallery.[183] More recently, a small terracotta plaque depicting a seated Buddha with the hands in *dharmacakra mudrā* has been found at Panna, indicating that a Buddhist monastery may have been located there.[184] Based on the style of the very brief inscription that appears on both sides of the halo, the figure has been ascribed to the fourth or fifth century.[185] However, the fluid lines of the image preclude a date any earlier than the late fifth century, and some stylizations suggest that a sixth-century ascription would be most appropriate. All these sculptures indicate that Panna merits a careful examination. Although nearby Tāmralipta has yielded terracotta sculptures datable as early as the second century B.C.,[186] Panna, like many other sites in Eastern India, began to flourish during the Gupta period. The specific factors responsible for this unprecedented development of sites are difficult to identify, although it is noteworthy that the remains corroborate the inscriptional evidence, discussed at the beginning of this chapter, that shows new attention to the religious centers.

Another site apparently newly developed in Gupta times is Candraketugaṛh, 23 miles northeast of Calcutta, where the remains of a brick temple have been recently excavated.[187] The temple reveals no traces of terracotta panels such as those that so frequently adorned Bengali sanctuaries

datable only a few generations later, but remains at the site provide proof that artists worked proficiently in terracotta during the time the temple was constructed.[188] While no indication of relief adornment of any sort remains on the lower part of the temple, all that is left of the structure, we may reasonably guess that it was adorned with stucco, the medium so long favored for the sculptures of brick monuments in Magadha, as we see for example on the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir and later at Nālandā. The terracotta decoration found so abundantly on sanctuaries in Bengal from the seventh or eighth century to almost modern times must represent a shift of medium that came about because of a quest for a more durable medium for sculptural decoration, one better able to withstand the heavy precipitation of the tropical Bengali climate. Earlier brick temples adorned with terracotta panels are well known in North Central India, for example during the late fifth and sixth centuries at Ahichatrā and Bhītārgaon,[189] but as the idea of using terracotta panels for the adornment of brick monuments traveled eastward down the Gaṅgā, it seems to have caught hold especially in Bengal where clay was abundant and stone scarce. There terracotta was used on a far more extensive scale and for far longer than anywhere else in the subcontinent.

To the north, in Murśidābād District, perhaps near the joining of roads coming from Tāmralipta and Puṇḍranagara to the urban centers along the Gaṅgā in Magadha, several sites have yielded Gupta terracottas and stucco sculptures. Gītagram and the Rākṣasīdāṅgā near Rāṅgāmātī, the latter once thought to be the site of the famous Raktamṛttikā Mahāvihāra, have yielded a few stucco and terracotta sculptures roughly datable to the Gupta period. These have been known for the last half century,[190] but only recently excavations at the Rājbāḍidāṅgā,[191] also near Rāṅgāmāṭi, a half mile east of the village of Chiruṭī, have proved the true site of Raktamṛttikā Mahāvihāra, which was located just outside of the seventh-century capital of Gauḍa, Karṇasuvarṇa. Even before the recent excavations, a lovely stucco head (Plate 40), correctly attributed to the Gupta period, was identified as coming from Karṇasuvarṇa.[192] Then during the course of the excavations two other heads attributed to the Gupta period were found. Unfortunately they were uncovered in a deposit of débris — never a favorable archaeological context — which, according to the excavator, corresponds stratigraphically to the broad period ranging from the fifth-sixth century to the ninth-tenth century.[193] They surely antedate the stuccoes on the fifth integument of the stūpa at Nālandā Site Number 3, generally and quite correctly assigned to the seventh century;[194] thus they do not date later than the sixth century.

These Gupta finds are scanty, in spite of the careful and relatively thorough excavations at the site. However, this paucity is not surprising, since there is no reason to believe that the area had yet risen to any real prominence. Fa Hsian traveled directly from Champā to Tāmralipta without breaking journey, as his route might have provided, at Raktamṛttkā Mahāvihāra, or without later going on to that Mahāvihāra, as the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang did. Excavations at the site of the Mahāvihāra give little evidence of its importance during the Gupta period. Only two sealings out of almost a hundred have been attributed to the fifth or sixth century, and the attribution is based entirely on epigraphic style.[195] Also, no Gupta coins are known there.[196] Thus it seems likely that nearby Karṇasuvarṇa, subsequently the capital of the powerful early seventh-century monarch Śaśāṅka, was still a provincial town.

Still further north, at Bāṅgaṛh, 16 miles southwest of Dināǰpur and thus presumably on the route westward from Puṇḍranagara, terracotta sculptures have been found that are datable from the second century B.C. through Pāla times, with some figures quite properly attributed to the Gupta age.[197] At Mahāsthāngaṛh, the ancient site of Puṇḍranagara itself, the expectation of Gupta terracotta remains is fully justified. There can be no question of the early date at which Mahāsthāngaṛh was occupied and active, for there is an inscription from the site assigned on paleographic grounds to the Maurya period[198] and several terracottas that date to the second century B.C.[199] However, here, as elsewhere in Bengal and almost everywhere else in Eastern India, terracottas from the intervening centuries up to the Gupta period are not known. Hence terracotta art seems to follow the pattern of stone sculpture, which, especially during the first few centuries A.D., was produced only on the most limited scale in North India outside of Mathurā.

Once again in Gupta times, terracotta sculptures are found at Mahāsthāngaṛh, although it is notable that few sculptures in any medium have been found at this extensive site.[200] Generally the Gupta-period terracottas of Mahāsthāngaṛh are not particularly exquisite, just as they are not especially numerous. However, one exception to the common quality is an especially fine Sūrya (Plate 41), 21 inches high and made from red terracotta.[201] This extremely sensitive figure, probably dating to the mid-sixth century, that is, just shortly after the Maṇiyār Maṭh stucco sculptures, attests to the high level that terracotta sculpture reached in Bengal during the Gupta period, and it presages the extensive and accomplished use of this medium a few generations later at such centers as Pāhārpur.[202] The soft, subtle modeling of the torso, the sensitive folds of the garment and even of the belly, pinched at the center by the sash, the expressive face, the rich detail of the curling locks and ornament of the crown all set this sculpture apart from the other terracottas of Mahāsthāngaṛh attributed to the Gupta age. Hence, as with other parts of Bengal, whose artistic activity was inexplicably dormant after the second century B.C., the Gupta age seems to mark a cultural renaissance at Mahāsthāngarh.

CHAPTER 3

Growth of the Style (c. 550-700)

Historical Introduction

Following the decline of the Guptas, we know little of the political history of Eastern India for a full half century, until the beginning of the seventh century; then, several powers led by some of the dominant personalities in Indian history struggled for supremacy in this region and briefly sought to establish vast empires. It is not surprising that during the peak of this struggle relatively little artistic activity occurred except in Samataṭa, which was essentially unaffected by the turmoil. After stability returned, especially during the time of Ādityasena (c. 650–675), the arts again flourished.

Immediately after the final years of Gupta authority, about the middle of the sixth century, indigenous dynasties, which earlier probably had acknowledged Gupta supremacy, filled the leadership vacuum but held sway over small territories. Of these, the most important to Eastern India was a dynasty ruling in Magadha that maintained the name Gupta (hence called the Later Guptas of Magadha) but bore no known relationship with the Imperial Guptas of the preceding century. Their lineage, known from two seventh-century inscriptions,[1] may be traced back to a king Kṛṣṇagupta, who ruled at the beginning of the sixth century, probably as a feudatory of the Imperial Guptas and a contemporary of the founder of the Maukhari Dynasty, Harivarman.[2] The Maukharis ruled from Kanauj, subsequently becoming arch rivals of the Magadha Guptas. One can easily imagine the scramble for authority in the declining years of Gupta supremacy, and, predictably, the two great ruling houses that began to exert their authority at about the same time were natural enemies, each probably trying to assume control over the entire Gupta realm. Until the last years of the sixth century, the successors of Kṛṣṇagupta maintained supremacy in Magadha and probably parts of Northern and Western Bengal as well.[3] They even began to cement relations with the rising Vardhana family of Thāneśwar by a matrimonial alliance.[4] However, Mahāsenagupta (c. 563–582), the very king who gave his sister in marriage to the Vardhana monarch, lost Magadha: The Maukharis made substantial inroads from the west,[5] and the rising ruler of Gauḍa in Bengal, Jayanāga, probably pushed inward from the east;[6] Mahāsenagupta then fled to Mālwa.[7] This set the stage for the ensuing grand alliances and great struggle at the beginning of the seventh century.

The Vardhanas of Thāneśwar were central to the struggle, since they were linked with both the Magadha Guptas and the Maukharis. Prabhākaravardhana (c. 565–605) had a mother of the Magadha Gupta family and married his daughter, Rājyaśrī, to the Maukhari king Grahavarman.[8] Moreover, two sons of the Magadha king Mahāsenagupta had been sent to the court of Thāneśwar for safekeeping.[9] But when war broke out as the Maukarhis advanced into Magadha to take the territory of their established enemy and perhaps to head toward the sea, the alliances were established more along territorial than matrimonial lines. Rājyavardhana (c. 605–606), the new king of Thāneśwar, joined forces with his brother-in-law Grahavarman, while the Guptas were assisted in the struggle by the new sovereign of Gauḍa, Śaśāṅka (c. 602–625), the proud and able successor of Jayanāga.[10] Bhāskaravarman, king of

Kāmarūpa, who clearly coveted Gauḍa and the rest of Bengal, opportunistically lent his strength to the Vardhana-Maukhari alliance.[11] In treachery or battle, it is not quite clear which, both Grahavarman and Rājyavardhana were killed, the former by a king of Mālwa, probably Devagupta, whose predecessor had gone there from Magadha, the latter by Śaśāṅka, king of Gauḍa.[12] For the Maukharis, this defeat meant the end of their line; for the Vardhanas, one more generation would rule, and that the most important of all.

Harṣavardhana (c. 606–647), who had assumed the throne when his elder brother Rājyavardhana set out to aid the Maukharis, was determined to avenge his brother's death by pushing Śaśāṅka eastward toward his home territory.[13] Once Śaśāṅka was driven back into Magadha, though, Harṣa relented, at least for the time being, and did not pursue him all the way to Gauḍa.[14] Thus under Śaśāṅka, a large area of Eastern India was united, foreshadowing the territory governed by the Pālas a little more than a century later. Although Śaśāṅka, a great devotee of Śiva, apparently treated the Buddhists of Magadha with considerably less than the tolerance to which they were accustomed, he must have been more benevolent toward Buddhists in the vicinity of his capital, Karṇasuvarṇa,[15] so his alleged desecration of Buddhist monuments could not have been for purely sectarian purposes. For whatever reason, probably as he turned his attention to Kāmarūpa, Śaśāṅka loosened control over his realm; after his death, probably around 625, Harṣa was able to assume authority easily over Magadha,[16] while the successors of the great king of Gauḍa are unknown even in Bengal.

Subsequently, Magadha or at least a part of it may have been ruled by a monarch named Pūrṇavarman, perhaps a feudatory of Harṣa, known only from the account of Hsuan Tsang,[17] while Gauḍa fell to Bhāskaravarman, the king of Kāmarūpa.[18] During his final years, Harṣa himself assumed authority over Magadha, but he must have been responsible for restoring later Gupta hegemony in this region, since he seems to have named as his heir apparent in Magadha the prince Mādhvagupta (c. 647–650), who had been at Thāneśwar since his youth.[19]

Mādhvagupta was followed by Ādityasena (c. 650–675), one of only two Later Gupta monarchs whose inscriptions are known. His territory included Magadha and probably large parts of Bengal as well, since we know of no other ruler at this time in Bengal, except in Samataṭa.[20] As the struggle for supremacy over the bulk of Eastern India had concluded by the time of his reign, Ādityasena could turn his attention to restoring Magadha to its ancient position as a cultural center by providing endowments for great religious centers.[21] His three successors, the last of the Later Gupta line, seem to have continued his benevolence. Perhaps the best known is the last, Jīvitagupta II (c. 715–725), who issued a proclamation from a victorious camp to guarantee the continuation of an endowment that his predecessors had established.[22] The period of his reign, though, falls within the scope of the next chapter.

Throughout this time, Samataṭa, that is, southeast Bengal, had been cut off from the great struggle that consumed the monarchs ruling over Magadha and the rest of Bengal. Because of Samataṭa's relative stability, the arts could flourish almost from the middle of the sixth century, when the last monarch of the Imperial Gupta line vanished into oblivion. Although no great ruling house whose name has been preserved for posterity held sway in this region until the very end of the seventh century, the climate was obviously right for artistic patronage, and the region could serve as a true religious sanctuary, far removed from the turmoil of war-torn Magadha, Gauḍa, and Varendra. Only the relatively obscure Khaḍga dynasty, whose late seventh-century inscriptions are known at the great Buddhist establishments of Maināmatī and in association with Brahmanical remains as well,[23] may be recognized as heirs to this newly emerged and important part of Bengal.

During the entire second half of the seventh century, then, Eastern India saw no outside domination. The few conflicts that occurred were essentially between monarchs within the region. And although clearly not isolated from the rest of India, politically or culturally, Eastern India began to coalesce in such a way that it could be maintained cohesively by the Pālas, who held together almost all of the region except Samataṭa for longer than any other dynasty that ever ruled Eastern India.

Hsuan Tsang

Just as Fa Hsian provided some insights into Eastern India during the Gupta age, a later Chinese pilgrim, Hsuan Tsang, provides some useful and often corroborative information about the region just after the great struggle for domination of Eastern India. Hsuan Tsang was in Eastern India during the second quarter of the seventh century, and his comments are considerably more detailed than those of his fifth-century predecessor, although like Fa Hsian's observations, they focus almost exclusively on Buddhist India, perhaps providing an imbalanced view.

Of the great cities of ancient days, several of the most important were in ruins during the pilgrim's visit. Vaiśālī, once the Licchavi capital and a favorite city of the Buddha, was largely deserted, and the vihāras there were mostly in ruins. So too the great walled cities of Magadha had few inhabitants, and Pāṭaliputra itself is described as long deserted. There, in a city that had once served as the political and cultural center for the South Asian subcontinent, Hsuan Tsang observed that "the *saṅghārāmas*, deva temples, and *stūpas* which lie in ruins may be counted by hundreds."[24] He speaks of Śaśāṅka's recent desecration, particularly his attempt to destroy a stone on which the Buddha reputedly had walked, but that alone could not account for

the desertion of these cities. They simply were no longer either the political or religious centers of Eastern India.

Gayā also had few inhabitants, about 1,000 families, mostly Brahmans, meaning in Hsuan Tsang's terms non-Buddhists.[25] Bodhgayā, on the other hand, must have been thriving, in spite of recent destruction credited to Śaśāṅka, for the Bodhi Tree, which the king of Gauḍa reputedly uprooted, had been revived and enclosed by a protective wall, and many enormous images, including some metal ones that Hsuan Tsang observed, had either escaped the pillage normally attributed to the king of Gauḍa or had been made in the few years since his reign in this area.[26]

Rājgīr too was in ruins, as it had been during the visit of Fa Hsian in the fifth century. The outer walls of the city had fallen completely, but the inner walls, though ruined, still had some elevation. Though he visited places associated with the life of the Buddha, Hsuan Tsang mentions no active Buddhist establishments there, but he comments on the large number of Jaina priests, particularly on Vipulagiri.[27] This corresponds perfectly with the remains of Rājgīr, which are largely Jaina or Śaiva, though it was one of the spots the Buddha especially loved and frequented. However, just north of Rājgīr, at Nālandā, the Mahāvihāra was thriving. Several thousand priests lived there, all of whom had passed a rigid entrance examination, and the buildings of the site, and especially the huge images, were apparently more extensive than the currently exposed remains would indicate. Hsuan Tsang remained there for five years.[28]

As Hsuan Tsang moved eastward, the sense of decadence that confronted him in Magadha and that he took special pains to describe no longer seems apparent. The Chinese pilgrim may have been awed and moved by the ruinous state of the once-great centers of Buddhism but surprised to find flourishing monasteries in areas that just a century or two earlier — not long in light of the way news must have traveled from India to China — would have been considered on the borders of civilization.

Hiraṇyaparvata, that is, Monghyr District, had ten saṅghārāmas with 4,000 priests,[29] probably a mistake for 400 priests, since about 50 to 100 priests per saṅghārāma seems closer to normal elsewhere. Champā, corresponding to Bhāgalpur District, had several tens of saṅghārāmas, though most of them were in ruins.[30] But especially as Hsuan Tsang moved into Bengal, he saw urban centers that were obviously flourishing. For example, he described Puṇḍravardhana as thickly populated, with 20 saṅghārāmas inhabited by 3,000 priests and some hundred deva temples.[31] The remains of Mahāsthāngaṛh, Puṇḍravardhana's capital, confirms its seventh-century vitality. Samataṭa had about 30 saṅghārāmas with about 2,000 priests, all of the Sthavira school, and about 100 deva temples.[32] Again, the extensive remains of Maināmatī and the bronze sculptures of this period found elsewhere in southeast Bengal support the Chinese pilgrim's observations. Tāmralipta had 10 saṅghārāmas with 1,000 priests and 50 deva temples.[33] Karṇasuvarṇa was described as thickly populated and possessing very rich householders. In addition to 50 deva temples, 10 saṅghārāmas contained 2,000 priests, including one saṅghārāma called Raktaviṭi, one of the very few which Hsuan Tsang identifies by name, located by the side of the capital.[34] This vihāra recently has been excavated;[35] it and remains elsewhere in the vicinity of the ancient Karṇasuvarṇa show that this area was thriving in Hsuan Tsang's time. But how inconsistent it seems that by the side of Śaśāṅka's capital, a distinguished monastery flourished, while almost 225 miles to the west, at Pāṭaliputra and Bodhgayā, Śaśāṅka is blamed for great destruction to Buddhist sacred monuments.[36]

Some of Hsuan Tsang's observations may be explained by the political situation. Magadha, which had been at the center of the great rivalries of the early seventh century, must have suffered considerable destruction, although there is reason to believe that the area was revived after Hsuan Tsang's time, under Ādityasena and his immediate successors. Only Nālandā, which almost surely received patronage from monarchs outside of Magadha, most notably from Harṣavardhana, was able to maintain prestige and a continuing building program. On the other hand, Bengal flourished, removed from the center of conflict, and possibly artists who earlier had worked in Magadha found sanctuary in parts of Bengal. Samataṭa, as noted above, was unaffected by the turmoil that engulfed Magadha. Even Varendra was only on the border of the great conflicts, although the Kāmarūpa king, Bhāskaravarman, may have had to pass through Varendra as he moved toward Gauḍa and Magadha. And Gauḍa suddenly, though briefly, rose to considerable prominence at this time.

Approach to Art, 550–700

Determining which of the Eastern Indian sculptures could be assigned to the Gupta period and among those sculptures assigning rather specific dates to them was a relatively easy task; either they could be correlated with indigenous epigraphs and historical events, or they could be related stylistically to dated monuments elsewhere in India. However, it is a considerably more complicated task to determine the chronology of art in Eastern India after the years of Gupta rule and before the firm establishment of Pāla authority in the area. This difficulty occurs not because images of this period are lacking; if anything, they are more numerous than the Gupta sculptures. But the stylistic evolution of art during this time has not been worked out for any part of North India,[37] largely because of the extraordinary and inexplicable dearth of dated monuments.

Despite the greater artistic production in Eastern India during the couple of centuries following 550, the increase was not dramatic, and in the heartland of Gutpa art, North

Central India, where we might seek precedents for and correlations with the post-Gupta art of Eastern India, production noticeably declined. Even the history of these centuries throughout North India, though at times well documented, is filled with long periods about which we know almost nothing. The religious fervor and great creative force that had generated the many Gupta temples and vast number of unattached sculptures seems to have waned until about the ninth century; at that time the ruling houses established in North India assumed a direct role in patronage or provided the appropriate atmosphere for the artistic spirit and financial resources to be channeled into temple building and image making. During these intervening years, however, the great surge of activity shifted away from North Central India, largely to the South, where under the Pallavas, Cālukyas, and later the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, great temple building programs were carried out. Other burgeoning centers of artistic activity are apparent in Western India and, closer to the focus of this study, in Orissa and Chattisgaṛh. But the shift away from North Central India may also account for the increased artistic production in Eastern India.

This is not to suggest that no temples and sculptures of essentially the late sixth, seventh, and eighth centuries are known in North Central India. Monuments there, together with contemporary monuments from the rest of the subcontinent, represent the beginnings of the regional schools that were so well defined by the ninth century. But the temples and sculptures of these intervening centuries are limited in number and bear little indication of a date to secure their place in history.

The few known dated monuments provide crucial information for our study. So too do some dated or closely datable sculptures from Nepal that recently have been brought to public attention.[38] The South Indian temples and sculptures of this period, though often dated quite precisely, are too far removed from the trends of Eastern India to be of any real significance in this study. Hence for these intervening years we must often use a method for determination of date somewhat different from the one for earlier times, and it involves more arbitrary judgments. Here we often must guess where on the spectrum of development from the Gupta period to the Pāla period a sculpture belongs from the extent to which it reveals Gupta vestiges or the degree to which it anticipates the Pāla style of the ninth century. Thus in this chapter and the next we shall discuss several sculptures that previous writers have called Gupta simply because the Gupta vestiges that they show have been mistaken for a clear manifestation of the Gupta style.

Shāhābād District

In the District of Shāhābād, bordering on Uttar Pradesh to the west and separated from the rest of Magadha by the River Son on the east, the monuments show some notable differences from art elsewhere in Eastern India. Though politically part of Magadha, Shāhābād District must have been the seat of a somewhat different culture. Little early art exists in Shāhābād District, the Chausā bronzes being among the only Gupta sculptures of this area. If Sārnāth artists moved eastward to the Rājgir-Nālandā area, they would have passed through Shāhābād District, although their mark on the art of this district was not consequential; little if any art of the late fifth or early sixth century remains there, and not a single Buddhist image of any period is known in all Shāhābād District. Not until the seventh century do we see the establishment of an artistic tradition, that is, the beginnings of a continuous development, in Shāhābād District.

The Shāhābād sculptures of the seventh century are almost entirely associated with the remarkable Śiva temple on Muṇḍeśvarī Hill (Plates 42–50), eight miles southwest of Bhabhuā. It is one of the only remaining octagonal temples in India[39] and one of the very few stone temples in Eastern India, brick being the generally favored building material.

The general form of the temple makes clear its early seventh-century date, although it has undergone both ruin and some reconstruction that have had a considerable effect on its appearance.[40] The four walls of the temple facing the cardinal directions each have a doorway, although currently only one, the southern doorway (Plate 45), provides access to the interior of the temple; the other doorways have been sealed, the eastern one probably in the course of some reconstruction and the other two by modern screen doors. The mouldings of these doorways (*śākhās*) are clearly based on the Gupta pattern, seen especially on monuments generally dated to the late fifth or early sixth century such as the Nāchnā temple[41] and the Deogaṛh temple.[42] However, the floral patterns have become formalized, though not to the extent of that on the Buxār doorway of the following century (Plate 118), and show only an echo of the luxuriant pattern of Gupta lotus creepers. Although the decoration of the walls of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple is generally more reserved than that of contemporary temples elsewhere in India, its facade follows the architectural pattern common to seventh-century temples in both Central India and Orissa. For example, the intermediate walls, between the ones with doorways, each carry three niches, a large central one with a smaller niche on either side, each capped by a low *udgama*, as we also see on such seventh-century temples as the Lakṣmaṇa temple at Sirpur and the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara.[43] So too the mouldings of the plinth (*adhiṣṭhāna*) of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple correspond generally with the mouldings of these seventh-century temples and with the adhiṣṭhāna mouldings of the late sixth-century Gop temple in Gujarat,[44] as well as with the contemporary temple at Kusumā in Rajasthan.[45]

The superstructure had fallen completely when the temple was conserved at the beginning of this century. About a century earlier, in 1790, when the English artists Thomas and William Daniel visited the site, the entire temple except for the entrance was buried, but from the mound shown in their drawing (Plate 42), we can infer that little if anything of the superstructure remained even then. At best we can guess that originally the *śikhara* followed the parabolic elevation widely used in North India by the seventh century, and that the square plan of the superstructure was symmetrically inscribed within the octagonal plan of the temple walls, probably reflecting the form of the raised square platform inside the temple. A śikhara of this sort would certainly account for the architectural members, including several *āmalakas* and *candraśālās*, still at the site.

When the Daniels visited the site, earth around the lower level of the temple obscured the remains of a maṇḍapa before the southern doorway, the principal entrance to the shrine. Traces of this porchway still remained at the beginning of this century, when the temple was cleared and conserved, and appear in a photograph from that time (Plate 46). A ground plan of the temple made in 1811 by an artist deputed by Francis Buchanan-Hamilton, the surveyor of what was then the province of Bengal, shows that eight pillars supported the roof of the porchway.[46] Part of the very slab that formed this roof may be seen among the pieces lying about the site. It is decorated with a huge full-blown lotus, exactly like the slabs that serve as ceilings for maṇḍapas of Gupta and later temples.[47] Today, however, no part of this maṇḍapa remains, only its plinth, much broader than the porchway itself. Because this maṇḍapa would have obscured the side niches on both the southeast and southwest walls of the temple, I doubt that it was part of the original conception of the structure and presume that it was added in the course of some renovation or modification, perhaps when the latter group of sculptures discussed below was installed.

The interior is also octagonal in plan with a raised square platform in the center (Plate 43). A 45-inch tall caturmukha liṅga of indistinguished quality (Plate 50) stood at the center

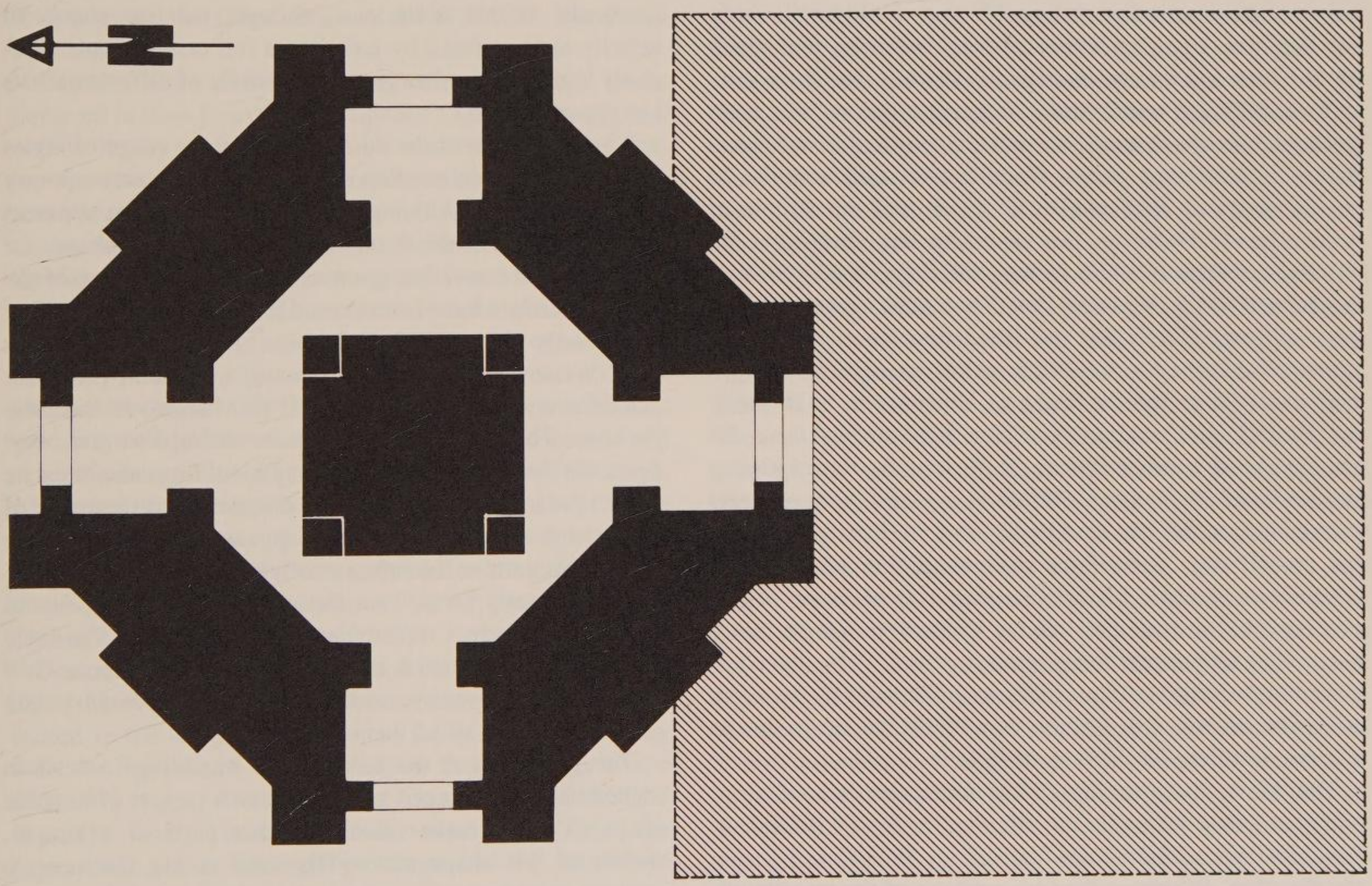


Figure 2. Plan of Muṇḍeśvarī temple

of the plinth until its theft in 1968. Though one writer contends that the temple was originally dedicated to Viṣṇu,[48] this image must have been the temple's original cult object, since the preponderance of sculptures associated with the temple are Śaiva. Among those still remaining at the site are an image of Mahiṣamarddinī, locally called Muṇḍeśvarī, still inside the temple, and a recumbent Nandī outside of the west doorway, as so commonly found in front of Śiva temples.

Not only do architectural features indicate a seventh-century date for the temple, but also an inscription lends support to that date, although it does not provide the date of the temple's construction as many writers have presumed.[49] This inscription, found in the debris around the temple, is dated in the year 30 of an unspecified era during the reign of the otherwise unknown Mahārāja Udayasena, probably a local monarch. While the year 30 may refer to the regnal year of Udayasena, it more likely refers to the Harṣa era, used elsewhere in Magadha, for example in the Shāhpur inscription of Ādityasena,[50] and thus yields a date of 636 A.D. for the inscription. If ascribed to the Gupta era, as one editor of the inscription preferred,[51] that would be too early for the form of most letters of the inscription and much earlier than any known inscription dated in the Gupta era.

Two differing translations of the inscription have been published, neither entirely accurate. According to one translation, a benefactor named Gomibhaṭa caused a *maṭha* of the devakula of Nārāyana to be made near the temple of Vinīteśvara.[52] However, this cannot be the meaning of the inscription since it refers to two buildings, a Vinīteśvara-maṭha and a Nārāyaṇa-devakula, not three as the translation suggests. The other published translation is also incorrect: According to the editor of this translation, Gomibhaṭa caused a temple, a maṭha of Vinīteśvara, to be made and furthermore made a provision for supplies from the storeroom of another temple, called in the inscription a devakula of Nārāyaṇa.[53] While this translation properly acknowledges the two buildings, it omits the troublesome but crucial final part of the compound that refers to the Vinīteśvara temple, *Vinīteśvara-maṭha-samāvesam*. Literally it means incorporated into the Vinīteśvara temple, but it seems best to interpret this as meaning built within the compound of that temple. Thus the inscription most likely refers to the benefactor's dedication of a Nārāyaṇa shrine in the compound of the Vinīteśvara temple.[54]

Doubtless, the meaning of the inscription is confusing, and attempts to reconcile the reference to both a Nārāyaṇa-devakula and a Vinīteśvara-maṭha have shed little light on the situation. Whatever the true meaning of the inscription, there is no need to deduce from it a complex change in the orientation of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple, as one writer had done,[55] for the inscription clearly indicates that here on Muṇḍeśvarī Hill was a Vaiṣṇava shrine, the Nārāyaṇa-devakula, and also a Śaiva temple, the Vinīteśvara-maṭha, presumably the temple that still remains. In addition, we can guess that the Nārāyaṇa temple was small and perhaps built of brick, because no trace of it remains[56] and also because of the absence of Vaiṣṇava imagery among the sculptures of Muṇḍeśvarī Hill. In any event, the importance of the inscription lies more in its evidence for the existence of two temples on the hill than for its date, since the date 636 serves only as a *terminus ante quem* for the octagonal temple. Stylistic considerations do suggest though that it is not far removed from the actual date of the temple's construction. That dating may be supported by comparison with the Śiva temple at Kusumā in Rajasthan, which is associated with an inscription dated 636/37.[57] There are striking similarities between the two temples; some differences are seen as well, but they may be explained by the geographical rather than chronological distance between the two temples.

In general, the sculptures associated with the Muṇḍeśvarī temple may be divided into two stylistic groups, probably representing an extensive earlier phase of activity and a limited later phase rather than two ateliers working simultaneously. If that is the case, though, the two phases of activity are separated by less than a full century and, especially within the earlier group, the hands of different artists are apparent.

The mouldings of the doorways show the range of styles in sculptured members that are almost surely contemporary with one another. Although subtle differences are apparent in the treatment of the floral decor of the four doorways, the differences are never so great as to indicate that one of the doorways might have been carved long after the others. One customarily sees a range of design and hand, sometimes even on two sides of the same opening as we note often, for example, on the Deogaṛh temple.[58] At Muṇḍeśvarī the same pertains. That means, then, that the dvārapālas and other figures at the base of these doorway mouldings also must be contemporary with one another despite the differences of figure style, which sometimes appear considerable. One need only examine the rather poorly executed river goddesses, significantly located on the eastern doorway,[59] or the stylistically distinct dvārapālas of the southern (Plate 47) and western (Plate 48) doorways to see the differences. Still they are contemporary, and an early seventh-century date seems likely for all of them.

The guardians at the base of the mouldings are all in niches that are crowned by a small arch, a sort of keyhole shape. Though earlier used on other parts of a temple, niches of this shape are widely used during the seventh century to enframe the guardians at the base of doorways. They are seen, for example, on a doorway standing at Gyāraspur in Vidiśā District,[60] on a fragmentary śākhā from Allāhābād District,[61] and another from Vārāṇasī.[62] The pose and form of the guardian to the left of the western doorway

(Plate 48) may be related to such early sixth-century figures as the Maṇiyār Maṭh Viṣṇu's attendants (Plate 18) or the āyudhapuruṣas of the Deogaṛh Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī,[63] although the highly sensitive modeling of the earlier figures has here given way to a more generalized treatment of the torso, a feature also of seventh-century sculpture made in the distant Pallava realm. Except for the more stocky stature of the guardian on the right side of the southern doorway (Plate 47), the bodies of the guardian figures are similarly modeled. But the face of this figure from the southern doorway, with more sharply chiselled features, reveals especially clearly a correspondence with late Gupta sculpture from Vārāṇasī, for example the Kārttikeya from Gai Ghāṭ, now in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan.[64] Also, the arrangement of the great sash indicates a debt to Vārāṇasī area figures; its prototype may be seen on a famous Gupta Avalokiteśvara from Sārnāth,[65] though now, a century later, the sash of the Muṇḍeśvarī guardian appears heavy and limp. The curl of the lips to suggest a faint smile is also seen on other Muṇḍeśvarī figures and elsewhere in Eastern India during the seventh century, for example on the stucco sculptures of the Great Stūpa at Nālandā Site Number 3 (Plates 68–71).

Can the Sūrya of the western doorway (Plate 49) be far removed in time from these sculptures? Though out of place architecturally — it must have been added for support during the course of some rennovation — the figure probably was carved at about the time the doorway mouldings were made, though possibly somewhat earlier. In the subtlety of the face, we see a strong vestige of Gupta delicacy, and overall the form is not far removed from that of such Gutpa Sūrya images as one carved in a Bhumārā candraśālā.[66] Certainly, the figure is notably closer to the refined Gupta idiom than another Sūrya from Muṇḍeśvarī (Plate 57) that we assign to a later date, probably near the end of the seventh century. It is primarily the broad planes of the torso, which tend to flatten the surface rather than show subtle variations of the body, that indicate for this Sūrya image a date close in time to the other Muṇḍeśvarī temple figures, that is, early in the seventh century, not during the sixth century.

Several images brought from Muṇḍeśvarī Hill to the Patna Museum[67] can be related to the sculptures still attached to the temple, and most of them are contemporary with the figures still in situ. Among these is a Kārttikeya (Plate 51) closely modeled on the Gupta figure of this god from Gai Ghāṭ, Vārāṇasī.[68] In the pose of the figure the dependence on a Vārāṇasī prototype can be seen most clearly. At Mathurā, where standing images of this deity are most common, the rare seated Kārttikeya is entirely different.[69] On a Gupta image of Kārttikeya from Bhumārā,[70] the right leg is suspended, the knee pointing forward rather than off to the side as does the pendant leg of both the Vārāṇasī and Muṇḍeśvarī images; also the peacock mount of the Bhumārā example and almost all others, including those from other parts of Eastern India,[71] is perfectly frontal rather than turned toward the proper right as it is on the Vārāṇasī and Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures. In spite of these remarkable similarities and a clear vestige of Gupta softness, the Muṇḍeśvarī figure is evidently a later and more formal version of the Vārāṇasī one: He is more stiffly posed and more elevated on his mount, which itself is bulbous, lacking the grace we see in the Gupta bird. Also, the right hand is raised to the shoulder, not lowered as on the Vārāṇasī example so that the bird can peck playfully at the fruit he holds.

A Hari-Hara from the site (Plate 52) also reveals the beginnings of a formalism that evolved after the Gupta period. This is most evident in the curvaceous silhouette of the male body, which becomes increasingly favored from this time onward. Here the wide thighs contrast markedly with the more subtle Gutpa body form, seen for example on the Sārnāth Buddhas carved around 475, and instead anticipate the body form of some early Pāla sculptures.[72] Two other figures, an Agni (Plate 53) and a pot-bellied seated Kubera,[73] must be related to all the figures we have discussed thus far. Such physical details as the shape of the face with its rather flattened frontal plane and large slanting eyes, as well as such accouterments as the double strand of beads that forms the necklace, clearly group these two images with the Kārttikeya, Hari-Hara, and door guardians of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple.

Somewhat more difficult to place is a pair of seated female images (Plates 55, 56), probably Mātṛkās since one appears to hold a child to her left side. If they are two figures of a group of seven Mātṛkās — this is not certain since their pedestals are not identical — then they may have been associated with a seated Gaṇeśa (Plate 54), almost precisely the same size, which still remains just below the summit of Muṇḍeśvarī Hill.[74] Recently these seated females have been ascribed to the Kuṣāṇa period,[75] but such an early date cannot be justified by any comparison. While one might be tempted to assign them to the fifth century on the basis of their similarity to the well-known Mātṛkās from Beśnagar,[76] the form of the pedestal of one (Plate 55) seems too complex for this date. We would acknowledge that the slender form of the young body is quite different from the massive Amānwā Indrāṇī (Plate 64), assigned below to the sixth century and also different from such other female figures of Eastern India as the Saraikela Mātṛkās of the eighth century (Plates 206, 207). But there seems little place for these anomalous figures but the sixth or early seventh century, and so regional factors must account for the stylistic distinction. If we date them to the sixth century, then we must contend with the lack of any clear indication of activity on Muṇḍeśvarī Hill before the time of the octagonal temple.

At best, we can ask whether the Muṇḍeśvarī temple was erected on the site of an earlier Mātṛkā shrine. It is not altogether impossible, for the name of the place retains a female orientation although the temple is dedicated to Śiva and the image now called Muṇḍeśvarī is a subsidiary one.

Finally, three standing figures (Plates 57–59), all close to the same height, have much in common and may have been carved by the same sculptor; but they were probably made later in the seventh century than the figures we have been discussing. They are a Kārttikeya leaning on the shoulder of Senā, a four-armed Pārvatī, and a Sūrya, all standing figures with an oval undecorated halo behind the head. Stiffly posed, these figures reveal virtually none of the subtle modeling that the earlier images manifest. The raised lines for eyebrows and neatly shaped lips are just two indications of an emphasis on line that obscures almost all sense of soft flesh. They wear long garments, secured at the waist with a rope-like belt, with folds (on the garments of Pārvatī and Kārttikeya and on the boots of Sūrya) indicated by wavy lines like those used on the garments of some contemporary figures from Vārāṇasī.[77] Folds represented by parallel lines often are associated only with the art of the Pāla period, but are, in fact, seen often in the seventh century, for example on some of the stucco sculptures of the Great Stūpa at Nālandā and also earlier at Muṇḍeśvarī, where they are shown but more gracefully rendered on the seated Kārttikeya.

The difference between these figures and the earlier ones from the site may be most clearly seen in a comparison of the Sūrya (Plate 57) with the image of this god on the western doorway (Plate 49). In addition to the more formalized surfaces of this later figure, the garment clings tightly, to emphasize the curving thighs; this feature was seen earlier in the Hari-Hara (Plate 52) but now is more pronounced on the Sūrya and its companion figures, hence indicating a date closer to Pāla times. A certain ineptness on the part of this later sculptor also is revealed, for the belt that secures this Sūrya's scabbard improperly hangs down to the figure's right side, rather than to the left as it should when pulled by the weight of the sword and as it does on other Sūrya images. Recognizing the range of style represented by the undoubtedly contemporary figures of the temple's doorways, we must conclude that these images fall far outside of the range and are undoubtedly later, but how much later than the other Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures we can only roughly estimate. The three figures appear earlier than those of the eighth-century Buxār doorway (Plates 117, 118) but not significantly earlier, and so were probably carved during the late seventh century, perhaps dedicated by pilgrims to the site, such as those who left written records about this time.[78]

The sculptures of Shāhābād District that we can ascribe to this period all seem to have come from only one site, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, so it is risky to draw generalized conclusions about the art of the district. However, it is fair to anticipate that the conclusions that we may reach on the basis of examining the Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures hold true as well for the subsequent art of Shāhābād District. At least two features distinguish its art clearly from the art of other parts of Eastern India. First, the dark gray or black schist is not used in Shāhābād District during the seventh century, in fact, not until late in the eighth century and even then not consistently. Instead, a buff colored sandstone is widely used, as it is also in Pāṭaliputra, but more significantly in Vārāṇasī, the source of such strong stylistic and iconographic influence on the art of Shāhābād District. Second, I have never seen a single Buddhist sculpture in all of Shāhābād District. If we travel westward to Vārāṇasī District or eastward across the River Son into Patna and Gayā Districts, many Buddhist centers are evident but none at all in Shāhābād District. This does not correspond with what we might expect, since Buddhist pilgrims, to avoid an unnecessarily circuitous route, had to pass through Shāhābād District as they moved from Sārnāth to the sacred places in Patna and Gayā Districts. But significantly Hsuan Tsang stopped at only one place in Shāhābād District, Masāṛh, and observed no Buddhists there.[79] No other place in Shāhābād District attracted the Buddhist pilgrim's attention. For these two reasons, the artists of Shāhābād and their patrons seem quite different from those of the immediately contiguous parts of Eastern India; thus it seems logical that we look westward for the source of inspiration for these artists. Our search westward is rewarded, as we have shown, by stylistic and iconographic similarities with the Brahmanical art of Vārāṇasī and also by the preference for buff colored stone both at Vārāṇasī and in Shāhābād District. In addition, the architectural form and even the building material of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple are more closely related to temples in an area corresponding to modern Uttar Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh, essentially the Madhyadeśa of ancient Indian geographic divisions, than to any temple type in Eastern India, the Prācya region of ancient India. While there is evidence in the Rohtasgaṛh seal matrix of Śaśāṅka that Shāhābād was politically attached to Magadha at the end of the sixth century, the inspiration for the artists, perhaps even the artists themselves, came from outside of Eastern India, most likely from the workshops of Vārāṇasī.

Gayā Area

Following the extensive work at Bodhgayā during the mid-sixth century, confirmed by inscription and probably associated with the reconstruction of the Mahābodhi temple, relatively little activity is documented at the site during the next two centuries. After the dedication of Mahānāman written in 588/89 A.D.,[80] the next dated inscription at the

site was carved in the year 26 of Dharmapāla's reign (c. 809/10 A.D.), and significantly, it records the dedication of a Śaiva image, not a Buddhist one.[81] Only a couple of images from Bodhgayā may be ascribed to these intervening years. In addition, one other sculpture, whose provenance is not recorded, is here assigned to Bodhgayā.

Hsuan Tsang reports that the early seventh-century king of Gauḍa, Śaśāṅka, destroyed the Bodhi Tree by tearing it down and burning its roots. The Chinese pilgrim also notes that a king named Pūrṇavarman, assumed to be a feudatory of Harṣa ruling in Magadha, restored the tree.[82] Although Hsuan Tsang was at Bodhgayā so soon after the reputed desecration and restoration that he could have spoken to many who actually remembered the events, it is difficult to accept his account without reservation. The Chinese pilgrim himself observed a peacefully thriving monastery on the very outskirts of Śaśāṅka's capital, so there is no reason to believe that this king actively persecuted Buddhists. If the Bodhi Tree was destroyed — even if it died naturally — one can easily imagine that Śaśāṅka would have been blamed, as he was hardly revered in Magadha. As for Pūrṇavarman, a king of this name may have reigned, but he is known only from Hsuan Tsang and not from any inscription recording his beneficient work at Bodhgayā.

One writer suggested that Pūrṇavarman's work may be associated with the inscription written in characters of the sixth or seventh century that records the renovation of the temple with new stucco and paint.[83] Assuming that the west side of the temple might have been damaged when fire was set to the Bodhi Tree, that writer suggested that the large stucco Buddha found by Cunningham in front of the temple's old central niche was added in the course of Pūrṇavarman's repair. The problem with this suggestion is that the inscription may well refer to a plaster ground for paint rather than stucco images and paint, and in any event the sculpture does not appear to date so early. However, any judgment about its date must be accepted as most tentative, since the Buddha image was poorly preserved when it was photographed in the last century and today is obliterated.[84]

Instead, the only sculptures at the site that can be ascribed with confidence to the seventh century are two stone Buddhas, both seated beneath the protective canopy of the serpent Mucilinda. These images commemorate an event that took place at Bodhgayā soon after the Buddha's Enlightenment. Sadly, the precise findspot of neither image was recorded, for that might have suggested exactly where the protection of the Buddha by Mucilinda was believed, during the sixth and seventh centuries, to have taken place. The earlier of these two images is a small sculpture now preserved in the Indian Museum (Plates 60, 61), probably datable just after the middle of the sixth century. The Buddha is seated on the coils of the serpent, the hands folded in the lap (dhyāna mudrā) to indicate deep meditation during this event. As common among both meditating and preaching Buddha images from Eastern India, though not necessarily those from other parts of the subcontinent, the garment covers both shoulders. The face of this figure most clearly recalls Sārnāth images of around the mid-fifth century,[85] that is, before the characteristic Sārnāth style was fully developed, when the influence of Mathurā was still apparent in the art of Sārnāth — significant because of the influence of Mathurā on the Gupta sculpture of Bodhgayā. The figure is, however, considerably later in date than the mid-fifth century as it retains little of the subtle modeling that characterizes Gupta imagery from Sārnāth. Instead, the firm surfaces of the body and face closely anticipate the style of the early seventh-century stucco sculptures of the Nālandā stūpa of Site No. 3. Moreover, the disproportionately large body and head in contrast to the small folded legs corresponds with the awkward proportions often encountered on images dating after the mid-sixth century.

A date for this Buddha image just before the Nālandā stucco sculptures is also indicated by the inscription written in several lines beneath the stūpa on the reverse (Plate 61).[86] While said by Cunningham to be the Buddhist creed,[87] the wording is different except for the opening phrase, which is identical. However, so much of the inscription is illegible that I have not been able to read it entirely. Probably more important than the content of this particular inscription is the form of certain letters, particularly *ya*, which is written in both places where it occurs in the old-fashioned tripartite form. This form was still used as late as the time of the Mandasor inscription of Yaśodharman (530 A.D.),[88] but it was out of fashion at Bodhgayā by the time of Mahānāman's inscription dated 588 A.D.[89] This conservative epigraphic feature, together with features of the sculpture itself that anticipate the seventh-century style, suggests a date just after the middle of the sixth century for the sculpture. Thus it cannot be far removed in time from the building activity discussed in the previous chapter and known more from inscriptional evidence than sculptural remains, but the style of the piece itself is certainly more advanced than the sculptures at Bodhgayā assigned in the previous chapter to the Gupta age.

The second Buddha seated on the coils of Mucilinda (Plate 62) is currently kept in a small shrine located within the compound of the Bodhgayā Mahant. Like the other Buddha Mucilinda sculpture, its original location is not recorded. Also like the other sculpture, the body is disproportionate, but in an opposite fashion, for the legs of this figure are much too large for the small head and torso. The figure is more formalized than the Buddha seated beneath the canopy of Mucilinda just ascribed to the second half of the sixth century. It closely anticipates eighth-century Brahmanical figures from the nearby Dharmāraṇya, located just across the River Nirañjana, whose dry bed during most

of the year permits easy travel between the two sites. A comparison with the Śiva of the Umā-Maheśvara sculpture at the Dharmāraṇya (Plate 139) will show how close the figures are, not only in the treatment of the faces, which are just short of identical, but also in the use of a polished finish for the black stone, yielding an almost metallic appearance. Possibly the same atelier of artists or, more likely, their descendants during the next generation made the Dharmāraṇya sculptures, thus working for both Buddhist and Hindu patrons. The late seventh-century date is confirmed by the inscription, the Buddhist creed, incised in two lines beneath the coils of the serpent. The letters are virtually identical to those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena.[90]

The similarity between the Dharmāraṇya sculptures and the Mahant's Buddha Mucilinda image is especially significant since, according to a legend current today at Bodhgayā, the Mucilinda episode took place at the Dharmāraṇya, although that is nowhere near the place Hsuan Tsang identifies as the location of the event.[91] At the Dharmāraṇya today only Brahmanical sculptures remain, while curiously the only two known Bodhgayā sculptures of any period commemorating this event are the two we have just discussed. In fact, they are the only surviving independent sculptures showing the Buddha protected by Mucilinda from all Eastern India[92] and among the very rare images of this type from the entire northern part of the Indian subcontinent.[93] Although this subject is a popular theme in the Buddhist art of Southeast Asia, the source of inspiration must have been South India, where the event is more often depicted, not Eastern India.

One Buddhist sculpture whose provenance is not recorded probably came from Bodhgayā and may not be far removed in time from the earlier of the two Buddha Mucilindas just discussed. This is a seated Buddha with the hand raised in abhaya mudrā (Plate 63), which bears on the simple pedestal an inscription proclaiming the image to be the pious gift of the general (*balādhikṛta*) Malluka. While the figure is derived from the early Gupta Bodhgayā Buddha of the year 64 (Plate 11), the flattened stomach and more extensive use of line to replace some of the modeled features of Gupta Buddhas, for example the double lines just above the ankles for garment ends, indicate a later date, probably corresponding with the second half of the sixth century. The generally softer cast of this figure's face suggests a date earlier than the seventh-century stucco images of the Nālandā stūpa, although such comparisons are tenuous since the Nālandā sculptures draw their inspiration from the Gupta art of Sārnāth, while this figure ultimately derives its inspiration from an older tradition at Mathurā. Further suggesting a date before the seventh century is the absence of the pillow behind the figure that we find quite consistently cushioning the back of seated Buddhas of the seventh and eighth centuries. The sculpture is, in any case, earlier than the Bodhgayā Mahant's Buddha Mucilinda statue that we have assigned to the late seventh century. As for the Bodhgayā provenance of the figure, to a large extent that is based on the view that this Buddha clearly evolves from the Bodhgayā Buddha of the year 64 rather than from any other possible prototype. In addition, a small stūpa is carved on the reverse of the image, a practice apparently in vogue at Bodhgayā, appearing also on the back of one of the Buddha Mucilinda images (Plate 61). Moreover, the figure is seated on a simple unadorned oval-plan pedestal, used frequently at Bodhgayā for seated Buddha images dating to the seventh and eighth centuries (see, for example, the figures illustrated in Plates 136, 137, and 138), but for only one Buddha that I know from another site, the late seventh-century image from Tetrāwāṅ (Plate 78). Elsewhere, probably under the influence of the Sārnāth fashion, the pedestal is rectangular and most often adorned with some figural sculpture (see, for example, the Buddhas in Plates 79 and 180). Hence if the figure was not made at Bodhgayā, then it was carved by artists who were significantly influenced by the sculptors of Bodhgayā.[94]

Although inscriptional evidence exists for Brahmanical sculptures near Gayā during the Gupta period,[95] no surviving image dating prior to the sixth century is known in this area. However, we have two sculptures dating to the second half of the sixth century that were found at villages near the modern Gayā-Daudnagar Road, apparently along an ancient route from Gayā to a crossing of the River Son, and a third sculpture from a site less than twenty miles south of this route.

An Indrāṇī image in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan (Plate 64) was said by the dealer from whom it was acquired to be from Amānwā in Shāhābād District, although it is doubtful that the dealer correctly reported the provenance. As for the date, the figure appears to have been made close to the seated Buddha that we just ascribed to the late sixth century (Plate 63), perhaps even closer to the middle of the century; this Indrāṇī recalls Vākāṭaka period images from Ajaṇṭā, such as the Nāgī on the courtyard wall of Cave XIX or the Hārītī in Cave II.[96] Some later Eastern Indian Mātṛkā images also reveal an association with art of the Deccan, notably the eighth-century group from Saraikela (Plates 206, 207), which this piece anticipates. That, however, may be due largely to the heavy-set quality that imagery of the Deccan shares with art in most parts of Eastern India, especially by contrast to the more svelte forms of Sārnāth. This heavy-set quality most likely precludes a site in Shāhābād District as the sculpture's provenance, for there the sculptors drew inspiration from the art of Vārāṇasī and its environs, including Sārnāth. Hence, little resemblance may be seen when this Indrāṇī is compared with contemporary works from Shāhābād District such as the Mātṛkās from Muṇḍeśvarī (Plates 55, 56). Rather, its broad form corre-

sponds more closely to the sculpture of Gayā District, as does the face, which recalls some of those that appear on the Bodhgayā railing (Plate 21). The only Amānwā that I know in Shāhābād District is a village located in the Bhabhuā subdivision, which has no ancient significance at all.[97] But there are good reasons in addition to stylistic considerations to suspect that the sculpture came from Amānwā in Gayā District. That village, located just two miles from the River Son, which divides Gayā District from Shāhābād District, seems a more likely source, because here a land grant inscription with a date corresponding to 551/52 A.D. was found,[98] showing the importance of the place during the mid-sixth century. Moreover, the sculpture is carved from dark gray stone, rarely used in Shāhābād District until the end of the eighth century but commonly used in Gayā District from the fifth century onward.

A nearby sculpture, still in situ, is a superbly rendered standing Viṣṇu image (Plate 65) at Koṅch, 18 miles west of Gayā on the Daudnagar Road. The site is most famous for the Pāla period Koṅcheśvara temple;[99] still today dozens of sculptures, mostly dating to the ninth and tenth centuries, lie near the temple. However, the village contains a few eighth-century sculptures also and this fine Viṣṇu that may be ascribed to the second half of the sixth century. Broken just above the knees and missing the front right hand, the figure, like the earlier Viṣṇu from Nārhaṭṭa (Plate 37), lacks the customary rich adornments worn by images of Viṣṇu. It is bare to the waist, the diaphanous lower garment secured by a simple sash, and wears neither vanamālā nor jewelry. An unembellished halo is behind the head. Only the crown, with its beautifully carved kīrttimukha, recalls the royal opulence of most images of this god. The form of the body does not follow by much time at all the Mandasor sculptures of c. 535, and so a date soon after the middle of the sixth century seems perfectly appropriate, that is, about the same date as the Amānwā Indrāṇī.

The iconography of the figure is particularly intriguing, as it does not hold the four attributes in the order of most pre-Pāla and Pāla images from Eastern India, that is, in the order assigned to Trivikrama in texts such as the *Agni Purāṇa* and *Rūpamaṇḍana*, which describe the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu.[100] Rather, the attributes are arranged in the order of Śrīdhara. The order is not unique to this image — for example, an eighth-century Viṣṇu from the same site (Plate 159) and others from Bodhgayā (Plates 149, 150, 155) hold the attributes in this order — but it is far less common elsewhere in Eastern India than the order assigned to Trivikrama. In addition, the wheel and mace are not personified here, as they are most often in Eastern Indian Viṣṇu images dating before the mid-ninth century. Instead, unlike almost any other pre-Pāla Viṣṇu image, these attributes are held above the shoulders, the discus held in the back right hand parallel to the side of the face and the fingers of the back left hand placed gingerly on the mace. Here it is interesting to note that this order of weapons, that is, the order applied to Śrīdhara, as well as the position of the wheel and mace above the shoulders are precisely the most favored in the art of Nepal at this time and later.[101] However, as this image is unusual for Eastern India, we cannot easily conclude that it or yet undiscovered contemporaries served as the model for Nepalese images. More likely the two developed from a common prototype, although it is difficult to identify the source. It was most likely not Mathurā, which, in other ways, was an important source of the Vaiṣṇava iconography of Nepal and the Buddhist style of Bodhgayā. Comparable images are virtually unknown in the Kuṣāṇa and Gupta art of Mathurā.

This Viṣṇu holds the conch by its tip as common to Viṣṇu sculptures from Orissa, Sirpur and Rājim in Raipur District, and South India and the Deccan but not to other Viṣṇu sculptures from Eastern India. However, in the absence of evidence for other features derived from the art of these places, we cannot conclude that the manner of holding the conch is the result of influence from such distant places, though I am unable to suggest a more likely source.

More to the point for our study of Eastern Indian images, the Śrīdhara order of attributes is used consistently for a group of seventh- and eighth-century Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images (Plates 82, 107, and 189). These images, in addition, are among the only ones from any part of India which wear kīrttimukha crowns like the one worn by the Koṅch Viṣṇu.[102] Hence, it is intriguing to seek the source for the group, although none, either literary or sculptural, is immediately apparent. Moreover, we cannot postulate with confidence that sculptures like this Koṅch Viṣṇu served as a model for the later Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images.

An image of Revanta (Plate 66) from Pachār Hill, about 20 miles due south of Koṅch and close to the route of the modern railway line linking Vārāṇasī and Gayā, must be ascribed to the seventh century. Like Koṅch, this is a site that has yielded many sculptures of later times, including an image of Aparājitā that I would ascribe to the eighth century (Plate 144), but this figure of Revanta suggests that the antiquity of Pachār Hill extends at least to the seventh century. Revanta, the son of Sūrya,[103] is rarely worshipped as a separate deity in its own right. At other places where images of Revanta have been found, contemporary images of Sūrya are found also, for example at Dāpthū and Sultānganj, and so I would not be surprised if a careful exploration of the place were to yield images of Sūrya at least as old as the seventh century. Since the piece is poorly preserved and, in the first place, not excellently rendered, it is not easy to assign it a date. Surely, though, its Gupta period attribution cannot be correct.[104] That date is based mostly on a comparison with a Revanta carved on Jahāngīra Rock at Sultānganj that has been called Gupta

without any real evidence,[105] most likely on the presumption affecting too much writing on Eastern Indian art, that anything predating the Pāla period must be Gupta. In any case, the resemblance between these two is minimal, and this Revanta from Pachār bears a close resemblance to no Gupta sculpture. Though it recalls some figures of the Deogaṛh temple,[106] an early seventh-century date seems more likely. We may note the disproportionate character of the sculpture, not so much the large size of the god in contrast to his much smaller steed — that is common to images of Revanta — but the huge head and much smaller body. Such ungainly proportions are encountered elsewhere in post-Gupta images of Gayā District, for example the Buddha illustrated in Plate 63. Some features recall the Gupta fashion, such as long curly locks of hair, and are used as well for eighth-century images from Gayā District, for example a Viṣṇu at the Dharmāraṇya (Plate 149); the Pachār Revanta, though, is surely not so late, since the umbrella-bearing attendant appears somewhat earlier than the stucco relief figures on the Aphsaḍ *jagatī* (Plates 83–86), which may be assigned to the late seventh century. Hence a date early in the seventh century seems most appropriate.

The appearance of sculptures after the middle-sixth century at such places as Pachār Hill, Amānwā, and Koṅch point to a new emphasis on the southern part of Magadha. Before this time, the cultural and commercial routes seem to have closely paralleled the Gaṅgā, with only an occasional route leading from the north to an important center in southern Magadha like Rājgir and Gayā. However, after the Gupta period new routes were opened. We have as evidence not only the route of Hsuan Tsang, which carried him to many more places in southern Magadha than Fa Hsian had visited, but also sculptural remains that show the development of these sites. Routes linking these sites were probably developed especially after the demise of the old capital, Pāṭaliputra, and the likely establishment of the Later Gupta capital somewhere south of the Gaṅgā — its precise location has never been identified conclusively, though all Later Gupta inscriptions have been found in southern Magadha. At the same time, the factors that induced the Later Guptas to establish their capital south of Pāṭaliputra may account for the development of southern Magadha. Whatever the explanation, the more widespread appearance of sculptural remains in southern Magadha is but one indication of this area's new vitality.

Rājgir-Nālandā Area

The earliest sculptural remains at Nālandā may be ascribed to the seventh century, despite the establishment of the Mahāvihāra more than a century earlier.[107] From that earlier time little remains except the foundations of buildings, although there is archaeological evidence that some monuments underwent several phases of reconstruction before the seventh century. However, during the seventh century Nālandā must have especially flourished, as two of the most notable monuments at the site date to this period: the fifth integument of the Great Stūpa of Site No. 3, adorned with fine stucco sculptures probably datable to the early part of the century, and the stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, decorated with sculptures around its perimeter, probably datable to the later part of the century.

Whatever the source of patronage during the seventh century, it was clearly generous, for it is no exaggeration to state that the best architectural sculpture of all Nālandā was made during this century. The substantial support for these adornments suggests a continuation of the royal patronage attested by both Gupta seals and the account of Hsuan Tsang.[108] Almost surely Harṣa now became the royal benefactor for the Mahāvihāra — a view that both seals and the Chinese pilgrim support.[109] It seems most likely that in the years succeeding Harṣa's victory over Śaśāṅka, when he extended his authority over Magadha, Harṣa piously provided generous endowments for Nālandā.[110] If the benefactor was not Harṣa, a likely source for such munificent patronage is difficult to imagine.

Situated at the southwest corner of the exposed remains of Nālandā, at the end of a row of worship halls, Site 3 is the location of the Great Stūpa of the Mahāvihāra (Plate 67).[111] The structure dominates the site today just as it must have during the seventh century, when it was enlarged and beautifully embellished. Its final form is said to be the result of seven successive stages of building,[112] each new stage fully enveloping the previous one in a manner commonly used for renovation of monuments in ancient India. However, its present appearance is a confusing mixture of the final four integuments because the mound was excavated, according to the archaeologist in charge, "with the aim of exhibiting as much as possible of each successive structure exposed."[113]

The fifth integument, considerably larger than the earlier four, is also the most impressive, for its surface was provided with stucco sculptures, many of which remain well preserved. Four towers, also adorned with stucco figures, were constructed at the corners of the stūpa at this time. The arrangement of a large central stūpa with four corner towers is elsewhere unknown,[114] although it recalls the form of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā, where four small shrines are placed at the corners of the towering superstructure.[115] It also relates to the plan of the temple at Site 12, immediately north of the Great Stūpa. This temple, with four small shrines at the corners of the main one, precisely replicates the plan of Brahmanical pañcāyatana temples.[116] However, in the context of a Buddhist monastery, the arrangement appears to reflect the developing concept commonly known as the system of Dhyāni Buddhas in which five Buddhas,

called Jinas in the texts and distinguished from one another by the mudrā, are associated with the four cardinal directions and the center. Images of these five Jinas were most likely installed in the central sanctum and the four corner shrines of this temple at Site 12. We need not be concerned that the four corner shrines are not oriented toward the cardinal directions, as the depiction of these Jinas and their placement was still evolving at this time.[117] If the plan of this temple evokes the arrangement of the five Jinas (the *pañca-jina-maṇḍala*), then the adjacent Great Stūpa and its four corner towers, too, must suggest that maṇḍala. In that sense, it anticipates the great monuments of Pāhārpur and Antichak (see pp. 91–93). There, huge niches to enshrine the Jinas and symbolize their heavenly quadrants were constructed on each of the four sides. Hence, the rite of circumambulation around these stūpas and presumably the Nālandā stūpa as well becomes, in addition to its other meanings, a metaphoric passage through the cosmos.

Once the Great Stūpa of Site No. 3 must have been more richly adorned with stucco sculptures. Now, however, the sculptures remain only on two of the corner towers and on stepped walls flanking the great flight of stairs leading to the summit. The visual encounter with the spiritual teachers must have served as an appropriate prelude to the actual — and more important to the metaphoric — ascent of the worshipper.

These sculptures flanking the stairway are arranged in a series of adjacent niches, separated from one another by pilasters whose form closely follows that of the pilasters on a sixth-century monument just a few miles away, the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir. The tops of the niches are alternately flat and arched. Within each niche is a large central seated or standing image with much smaller figures placed against the side walls.[118] Though subtle differences may be observed among the figures, overall their close relation to scuptures of the Sārnāth style is so clear that the vague notion of influence and the indirect ways that influence have spread cannot explain the similarity; instead, the predecessors of the artists themselves must be traced to the site of the Buddha's First Sermon. Earlier, when discussing the remarkable similarity of the Maṇiyār Maṭh sculptures and the Sārnāth style, I suggested that the establishment of the Nālandā Mahāvihāra at the end of the fifth century may have attracted artists from the Mahāvihāra at Sārnāth, whose extensive building program, evidenced by the abundant sculptures at the site dating around 475, was concluding. Here, with these stucco sculptures, we have further evidence to support the hypothesis. One can imagine a huge number of artists converging upon Nālandā to help establish the Mahāvihāra, which continued to expand through the seventh century. Then when the generous patronage that had supported their work diminished until the time of Dharmapāla, many of the artists must have dispersed, carrying with them a sensitivity to the figural form and an understanding of the iconographic formulas that they had learned at Nālandā. Thus in Eastern India, clear traces of the Sārnāth style are preserved long after they vanish at Sārnāth itself.

A comparison between the standing Buddha illustrated in Plate 68 and the Sārnāth Buddha dated 473/74 A.D.[119] will show just how clearly this figure is based on the Sārnāth model and also indicate the differences between the two that may be explained by the approximately 150 years separating these images. The Nālandā Buddha wears a garment draped in the fashion typical of Gupta sculptures of Sārnāth, that is, covering both shoulders and without any sculptured indication of garment folds. However, as we see occasionally during the seventh century and often later, the loose end of the outer garment is raised to shoulder level,[120] not held at waist level as common among the Gupta Buddhas of both Mathurā and Sārnāth; and the hem of this garment falling from the left hand follows a gently undulating path, by contrast to the more lively rhythm formed by the garment hems of Gupta Buddhas from Sārnāth. The pose of the figure must be based on the swaying stance of Sārnāth Buddhas, but here the pose is stiff and the rhythm staccato, showing a clear distinction between the lower torso, upper torso, and head in place of the harmonious flowing composition of Sārnāth Gupta sculptures. The body retains the slender form of Sārnāth Gupta images, a notable contrast with the more heavy-set form favored at Bodhgayā. Also retained is the distinct indentation at the waist. However, the head of this Nālandā stucco Buddhas is considerably larger in proportion to the body than we find among the fifth-century Buddha images of Sārnāth, a feature common at this time in the art of Eastern India and Sārnāth as well.[121]

A Buddha (Plate 69) seated in *pralambapadāsana*, the so-called European pose, with the hands held at the chest in a preaching gesture (*dharmacakra mudrā*) follows very closely the style of the standing Buddha just discussed and also undoubtedly is derived from a Sārnāth Gupta model.[122] Here, though, we see an indication of garment folds rendered by incised lines between the legs, rarely encountered in the Gupta art of Sārnāth but increasingly common in Eastern India from this time onward.[123] In addition, as common to seated Buddhas of the seventh century, the figure's back is cushioned against a great bolster. From the two corners formed by the juncture of this bolster and the unadorned halo behind the head, the stalk of a lotus emerges. This feature probably is derived from the floriate long snouts of makaras usually placed in this position on the thrones of Sārnāth Gupta sculptures, though different from the simple trefoil-shaped flower we commonly see in this position on the sculptures of Bodhgayā and other places in Eastern India less profoundly influenced by the Sārnāth style. An *ūrṇā*, indicated by a raised dot, is shown on the

forehead as customary on Eastern India Buddhas; however, during the Gupta period at Sārnāth and most other places in Northern India, the ūrṇā must have been painted, for it does not survive on the sculptures.

Similarly, a standing Lokanātha (Plate 70) derives its inspiration from a Gupta Bodhisattva found at Sārnāth[124] and serves as a model for at least one eighth-century image at the site (Plate 161). Like the standing Buddha discussed above, this figure stands in a clear *tribhaṅga* pose, without the subtle rhythm of its fifth-century prototypes. The right hand is lowered in the boon-bestowing gesture (*varada mudrā*); the left hand loosely holds a lotus stalk; and in the hair is a seated figure of Amitābha, all indicating the identity of this Bodhisattva.[125] Like other figures of this stūpa, the head is large in proportion to the body, and here, as we commonly see among the Bodhisattvas of the monument, the long locks of hair fall over the shoulders with the ends tightly curled. This Bodhisattva's beneficence, indicated in part by the hand gesture, is also reflected in the subtle smile of the face, a feature iconographically prescribed[126] but common to almost all the stucco figures of this Nālandā stūpa and to many other seventh-century sculptures as well. Following the form of its Sārnāth prototype, a roll of flesh droops beneath the navel, and in addition, the garment and ornaments, including a long sacred cord extending to the knees, also resemble the Sārnāth fashion. The large sash (*uttarīya*) worn diagonally across the hips with the two ends arranged neatly one above the other further reveals the debt of this Nālandā sculpture to a Sārnāth model, but now the sash is more reserved, less independent of the figure as we see elsewhere during the seventh century, for example on the Cakrapuruṣa from Aphsaḍ (Plate 89), datable near the end of this century. The knees, marked by crescents, are visible beneath the garment as on many of the other standing figures of this monument.

Finally, like the Lokanātha, a seated Mañjuśrī (Plate 71), whose Sārnāth prototype is difficult to identify, probably serves as a model for an eighth-century stone sculpture at Nālandā (Plate 164). Seated against the large bolster commonly used, the figure extends the right hand downward in varada mudrā, while the left, now broken, must have held the stem of the blue lotus visible next to the halo. Besides bracelets, arm bands, and huge cakra earrings, the figure wears a necklace with a cakra suspended from a central amulet and tiger-claw (*vyāghranakha*) pendants placed at regular intervals. A similar sort of necklace and also a similar coiffure (*kākapakṣa*) is worn by an image of Kārttikeya,[127] who, like Mañjuśrī, is called *kumāra* and conceived as youthful.[128] Here, as also in the case of the eighth-century image of Mañjuśrī most likely inspired by this one, the eyes are almond-shaped and open rather than lotus-shaped and downcast as common to most of the other stucco figures of this stūpa.

It has been generally agreed that the fifth integument of the Great Stūpa dates between the sixth and eighth century, although few reasons have been adduced to support any of the dates offered.[129] Perhaps most significant are the observations of J. A. Page, the principal archaeologist during most of the excavations at Nālandā, who dated the stucco sculptures to the seventh or eighth century on stylistic evidence and specifically to the seventh century on archaeological evidence.[130] That date seems most likely in light of the position of the sculptures *vis-à-vis* their prototypes at Sārnāth and the subsequent images at Nālandā to which they lent profound influence. As we have already seen, these stucco sculptures are certainly more formalized, thus later than the fifth-century images of Sārnāth; they are later, too, than the sixth-century sculptures of the Maṇiyār Maṭh, also based on Sārnāth models. How much later we can surmise from the evidence that at least two of the stucco Bodhisattvas serve as prototypes for stone images even farther removed from the Gupta style but still datable before the inscribed images of Devapāla's time and so probably products of the eighth century. Since the stucco sculptures are later than works that may be assigned to the fifth and sixth century, but earlier than images of the eighth century, their seventh-century date seems most probable. That they should be assigned to the first half of the seventh century appears likely when they are compared with the stone sculptures of the temple plinth of Site No. 2, which date somewhat later though still within the seventh century. The sculptures of that monument, as we shall see, have little in common with the stucco images of the Great Stūpa, but elsewhere at Nālandā, in fact over a wide area of Eastern India, the influence of the stucco sculptures is evident. Such prominent figures on the most imposing monument of the site could hardly fail to inspire later artists and to offer a model for the independent stone sculptures and bronze images that appear to have been made in greater numbers during the following centuries, that is, after the stone and stucco architectural sculptures had been completed.

The other seventh-century monument at Nālandā adorned with sculptures is the stone temple plinth (jagatī) known as the Patthar Ghaṭṭi at Site No. 2 (Plate 72). It appears to have been made somewhat later than the fifth integument of the Great Stūpa, probably during the second half of the seventh century. Built on the site of an older brick building, the plinth measures 118 by 102 feet and was the foundation for a large stone temple whose sanctum measured about 52 feet square.[131] The ruins of the temple are still visible on top of the plinth. Around the perimeter of the plinth are 220 panels,[132] each about one foot square, usually depicting a single image though occasionally either small groups of figures or purely decorative motifs. While the sculptures mostly represent demigods, a few illustrate Brahmanical deities, and not a single Buddhist deity can be identified

among them. Hence, this is generally assumed to be the plinth of a Hindu temple, some say specifically a temple of Śiva.[133] Certainly, ample evidence of Hindu monuments at Nālandā does exist. For example, at Begampur, on the western edge of Nālandā's excavated area, Broadley's excavation of many sculptures indicates the presence of a Brahmanical shrine.[134] Moreover, there are good reasons for expecting both Hindu shrines at and Hindu patronage for Buddhist establishments.[135] All that aside, the Hindu images alone are not sufficient to prove that the plinth served as the foundation for a Hindu temple. But before pursuing this question, let us examine a few of the panels.

The keyhole shape of the niches of the plinth is also used for alternate niches beside the stairway of the Great Stūpa at the site, although these of the temple plinth are more square and better accommodate the figures, which most often are seated or flying (Plates 73–75). The pilasters that separate the panels, with their pot-and-foliage bases and heavy cruciform capitals, are not greatly differenct except in degree of surface ornamentation from the pilasters separating the panels of the Great Stūpa at the site. The motifs of the pilasters' surface and the pearl motif around the perimeter of many of the panels are used commonly during the seventh century, even outside of Eastern India, for example on the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara.[136]

The style of the sculptures most often has been related to the style of the Pāhārpur terracotta panels,[137] but in fact, comparable figures are known in the architectural sculpture of India long before these — beneath the entranceway to all the Bādāmi caves,[138] around the base of the stūpa in Ajaṇṭā Cave 26,[139] and at the Bhumārā Śiva temple,[140] to cite just three examples. Wherever there was occasion to show figures in small consecutive panels, the general practice was to render frolicking figures in them. If a distinction can be drawn between these and earlier figures, it is that instead of the dancing figures, often playing musical instruments, that adorn earlier monuments, the figures of the Nālandā plinth are most frequently flying. In addition, much greater variety is seen among the Nālandā figures than among those of earlier monuments, but in turn greater variety is apparent among the figures of the stūpas at Vikaramaśīla and Pāhārpur, which date to the eighth century.

As for the figures themselves, their style suggests a date during the second half of the seventh century. For example, both a standing figure and his attendant (Plate 73) lean outward in poses bent sharply at the waist, like the attendants of the late seventh-century Sarvāṇī from Deulbāḍī (Plate 113). This sort of stance was also used by the artist of the late seventh-century Kārttikeya from Muṇḍeśvarī (Plate 58). What few vestiges of the flowing Sārnāth Gupta form could be observed in the stucco images of the Great Stūpa are absent here. In addition, the surfaces are modeled in such a way that the sense of soft flesh, still apparent in some of the figures of the Great Stūpa, is no longer visible, and in its place a firmness, so favored by the artists of the next centuries, becomes clear. This firmness yields the planes of the sort that later artists embellish with extensive ornament. A Mālādhara (Plate 74) reveals this treatment particularly clearly. Moreover, his face, with its thin lips and narrow eyes lightly incised on the surface, most clearly anticipate eighth-century images such as a Sarasvatī from Nālandā (Plate 167).

Of the 220 panels, only 22 have been identified as representing Brahmanical subjects,[141] and of these 22, several are by no means undoubtedly Hindu, for example four pot-bellied figures called Kubera, two representations of Gaja-Lakṣmī, and three representations of a woman with a child called Yaśodā and Kṛṣṇa. Some of those called Brahmanical probably do represent *Rāmāyaṇa* scenes, but these fall as much within the realm of popular as purely sectarian subjects. In fact, only two figures are undoubtedly Brahmanical, an image of Śiva and one of Pārvatī.[142] But even Śiva is known in a Buddhist context, for example in an eighth-century image of Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal (Plate 252). Among the Brahmanical deities represented on the terracotta plaques of the Vikramaśīla stūpa is a figure who may be identified without doubt as Ardhanārīśvara (Plate 213), and other Brahmanical deities are illustrated on the panels of the Pāhārpur monument. On the evidence of those few, would anyone argue that the great stūpas of Vikramaśīlā and Pāhārpur are Hindu shrines? I doubt it.

The sectarian affiliation of the shrine simply cannot be determined from the images within the panels placed around the perimeter of this or other monuments. Instead, the nature of these images seems to be dictated by an older tradition, seen, as we have shown, at Bādāmi and Ajaṇṭā among innumerable other places; this tradition demands that wherever panels are placed in a row around the lower part of a monument, they should be decorated primarily with frolicking figures, whether they are on a Buddhist or Hindu monument. The occasion for such panels, I would venture to guess, originated in the wooden prototypes of such shrines where the ends of beams, apparently serving as the foundation of the monument, were exposed and in need of disguise or simple embellishment. The convention for the decoration of these ends then was not especially sectarian.

Only one other surviving seventh-century sculpture of Nālandā survives, really a pair of panels, and significantly this too is an architectural sculpture. The two identical panels (Plates 76, 77) show Gandharvas within a richly carved lotus motif. The panels were discovered set into a plastered platform projecting from the south side of the Monastery of Site No. 1 into the courtyard. Though the function was not clear, the context was said by the excavating archaeologists to be datable to the sixth or seventh century.[143] The design of the panels is most ingenious. At the

center of each panel, a lotus node in the shape of a pot issues a great lotus stalk to each side so as to give the appearance of the familiar *ghaṭa-pallava* motif. Evenly spaced on either side is a pair of Gandharvas whose richly floriate tails merge magnificently into the lotus design of the whole panel. In carving, the ingenuity of design has replaced the deeply undercut lotus motif that we see often during the Gupta period, so that it appears flat by contrast to its Gutpa prototypes, more like the purely decorative panels of the temple plinth of Site No. 2. The contrast with Gupta panels is made particularly clear by comparing this with a frieze found in the Main Shrine at Sārnāth.[144] The comparison at once reveals the derivation of the Nālandā panels from a Sārnāth prototype, but it also makes clear the relative flatness, noted also in the figural sculpture, that begins to characterize the art of Eastern India during the seventh century. As we have observed above, this flatness permits the artist to concentrate on design and embellishment, as he has done so ably here, rather than on the sculptural qualities and the subtle effects of light and shadow, that the predecessors of these artists did with such mastery.

The seventh-century work at Nālandā was even more extensive than can be indicated in a discussion of only those monuments whose architectural sculpture remains intact. This raises the question of whether the great undertakings of the time were the result of new patronage only, unrecorded in the donative inscriptions that have been discovered, or of rebuilding after some drastic damage perhaps incurred in the battles that plagued Magadha at the beginning of the seventh century. Since Hsuan Tsang does not comment on any recent extensive damage to the Mahāvihāra, nor do excavation reports mention any archaelogical evidence of fire or other calamity just before the building phase, we can only guess that an influx of patronage, perhaps generated by the prosperity that resulted when there were no wars to drain royal treasuries, was responsible for stimulating the new growth of Nālandā.

As Harṣa was the ruler of Magadha during this tranquil period, there is every reason to assume that he was a very important patron for the great burst of activity at Nālandā. Yet it is strange that only Hsuan Tsang identifies him as a Buddhist and records his generous patronage of the faith.[145] If we had only the contemporary biography by his court poet, the *Harṣacarita*, we would believe that Harṣa was a devotee of Śiva and had no particular interest in Buddhism. Thus we must assume either that he was a convert to Buddhism later in his life, after the time covered by the *Harsacarita*, or, more like, that like many Indian kings he maintained his Brahmanical faith but provided support for Buddhist monasteries in his realm. Thus the emperor's periodic assemblies such as the one that Hsuan Tsang attended and thought to be a Buddhist gathering,[146] may have been only a royal audience, a *darbār*, which the Chinese pilgrim misconstrued. But even if it were a Buddhist assembly, it does not prove Harṣa's espousal of the faith. In other words, Harṣa was not an exclusive sectarian. The king's personal hospitality to Hsuan Tsang and especially the splendid results of his support for Nālandā easily could have been mistaken by the Chinese pilgrim for devotion to the faith. In ancient India, it was not only tolerance that induced kings to provide endowments to several faiths but good politics and a genuine recognition of the merit of several ways.

All the remaining Nālandā sculptures from this period of expansive building activity are architectural reliefs, adornment for the newly constructed and renovated monuments. None of the essentially free-standing images enshrined in the monuments remains, probably because they were made of clay, not stone.[147] However, at nearby sites, free-standing sculptures of this time are known, although the most important of these was lost soon after its discovery and sadly cannot be illustrated. That sculpture, an inscribed Sūrya image, 2′10″ high, was first brought to public attention by Cunningham, who reported its discovery in the village of Shāhpur,[148] about eight miles southeast of Bihār Sharīf and very close to Tetrāwāṅ, which has yielded images of both the late seventh and eighth centuries. The importance of this image lies in its inscription, which refers to a date variously read as 55, 66, or 88, presumably of the Harṣa era, during the reign of Ādityasena.[149] The inscription further specifies that the image was dedicated by the general (balādhikṛta) Sālapakṣa and installed in the Nālandā-*Mahāgrahāra* or great *agrahāra* of Nālandā. An agrahāra is a village given to a religious establishment,[150] and so the image was installed in an important place, though otherwise unnamed, that belonged to Nālandā.

Unfortunately, the image has been lost, and no photograph or drawing of it was ever made. The first notice of its loss came when Fleet sent his copyists to Shāhpur in 1884 to locate the image in order to make a clear impression of the inscription and perhaps settle the uncertainty regarding the reading of the date. They were unable to obtain any information regarding the location of the sculpture.[151] However, even earlier Cunningham had reported the following:

> Some parts [of the inscription] are unfortunately indistinct; but the greater part is legible, and I hope soon to see a translation of it by Babu Rajendra Lala, *in whose hands I have placed it*.[152]

It is difficult to tell whether Cunningham gave the entire image or simply a rubbing of the inscription to Rajendralala Mitra. In any event, my own search for the piece convinces me that the sculpture is not in Shāhpur today or in any of the nearby villages. If the sculpture were found and its quality were good, then, since it is one of the only dated works at this time in all North India, it would be an extraordinarily important touchstone by which to judge the date of post-Gupta sculpture in a large part of the subcontinent.

Growth of the Style

Whatever the reason for the flurry of activity at Nālandā, it must have affected other monastic establishments in the area, since for the first time during the seventh century we find Buddhist images produced at nearby vihāras, though of less renown than Nālandā. The presence of artists at Nālandā alone could not have provided the stimulus for this work, since the style of images at other sites is by no means coincidental with the Nālandā style. Two sculptures will show this.

A seated Buddha (Plate 78) from Tetrāwāṅ,[153] ancient Tendadigrāma,[154] is not especially dependent on Sārnāth models in spite of the site's proximity to Nālandā. Rather, it shows a superb assimilation of the styles that prevailed at both Nālandā and Bodhgayā into what we might call the characteristic Magadha style. The figure is seated on a plain round pedestal of the type commonly found at Bodhgayā. It bears an inscription in two lines that is so extensively damaged that I can note only that it is neither the Buddhist creed nor simply a donative declaration. The right hand touches the earth (*bhūmisparśa mudrā*), the gesture that in subsequent centuries becomes by far the most common among the Buddha images of Eastern India. A comparison of this Buddha with the stucco Buddhas of the Nālandā stūpa on one hand and an eighth-century bhūmisparśa Buddha from Bodhgayā (Plate 137) on the other hand shows that this figure manifests qualities of each and is approximately between the two in development. It is neither so massive as the Bodhgayā figure nor as subtly modeled as the Nālandā figures. This intermediate position suggests more than a date between the two; it indicates as well an assimilation of two disparate styles. As for the date, late seventh century seems most appropriate. The treatment of the body is reminiscent of the late seventh-century Aphsaḍ stone sculptures (Plates 88 and 89), while the treatment of the face, especially the shape of the eyes and the long arched incised eyebrows, recalls the Buddha protected by Mucilinda (Plate 62), now in the Bodhgayā Mahant's compound, that I have assigned to the late seventh century. The pearled motif with regular spacers serving as a border for the throne and halo also point to a date at the threshold of the eighth century, for we see it occasionally on figures assigned to the eighth century, for example the Bodhgayā Buddha cited above, but less commonly during the seventh century. In addition, it is clearly earlier than another Buddha from the site (Plate 180) that may be ascribed to the eighth century.

A second late seventh-century Buddha (Plate 79), though a less refined piece, comes from Telhāra, ancient Telāḍaka,[155] about 21 miles west of Nālandā. While no other sculptures of such an early date are known from the site, a huge mound remaining in the village, if excavated, probably would yield others, particularly since Hsuan Tsang's description of the place mentions several images.[156] The hands of the image are held in dharmacakra mudrā, while appropriately on the pedestal a pair of deer flanks a wheel of the law, a common motif on the pedestals of preaching Buddhas.[157] A brief inscription above the backs of the deer declares the image to be the pious gift of one whose name I read as Kiṣadheyasi. The back of the throne shows a bolster, customary at this time; the border is decorated with a motif of alternating diamonds and circles, seen also on some niches of the plinth at Nālandā Site No. 2. Flanking the halo is a pair of small standing Buddhas each with the right hand lowered in varada mudrā, as we see attending preaching Buddhas at Sārnāth perhaps as early as the Gupta period.[158] Apart from this iconographic feature, little about the sculpture recalls the refinement of the Sārnāth style or its manifestations in the seventh-century sculptures of Nālandā. The large, heavy head, notably more massive than on any of the Nālandā sculptures, is often encountered in the art of Bodhgayā, while the treatment of the torso, especially its firm flattened surface, recalls the Bodhgayā Mahant's Buddha protected by Mucilinda. Hence this piece also most likely dates to the late seventh century.

Finally, at Rājgir, just seven miles south of Nālandā, we find sculptures of the seventh century, though they too show little influence from the art of Nālandā. Since the sixth-century stucco sculptures of the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir so clearly reveal inspiration derived from the art of Sārnāth, and during the seventh century this influence is manifest in the sculptures of Nālandā, we may speculate that the artists accomplished in stucco work moved from Rājgir to Nālandā when the extensive building campaign of the seventh century began. Thus the artists remaining in Rājgir, especially those who worked for Jaina patrons, must have been descendants of artists who had worked there during the fifth century, when the sculptures of the Son Bhaṇḍār Caves were carved. The correlation of the seventh-century sculptures of Rājgir with that old style is by no means insignificant.

That relationship with the older Jaina style of Rājgir may be seen in a seated representation of Neminātha (Plate 80), apparently one of the favorite Tīrthaṅkaras among the Rājgir Jainas, found outside of the eastern wall of a temple on Ratnagiri.[159] The massive qualities of the body and rather flaccid flesh must be derived from the rock-cut sculptures of the Son Bhaṇḍār Caves (Plate 16). The compact torso with flattened frontal plane and some details of decoration strong suggest a seventh-century date for the figure. The details of decoration include the bolster behind the back, common to Buddha images of this time, and the canopy over the head, which we usually see on Jaina images at this time and during the subsequent centuries. If this sculpture could be related to the Buddhist figures just discussed it would be closer to the Telhāra image than to any of the more refined figures.

A second figure of Neminātha (Plate 81), no more refined

than the Ratnagiri figure, is now in a niche of the ruined Jaina temple of Vaibhāragiri, the site of a fifth-century Neminātha discussed in the previous chapter (Plate 15) as well as several later images (Plates 182–184). It generally follows the form of the Ratnagiri Tīrthaṅkara, although flanking the seated figure are eight miniature niches, four on each side, containing images of deities, apparently the same eight deities who flank a pair of much later Pārśvanātha images from sites in Baṅkura District.[160]

Probably owing to the conservatism of the Jaina community, the artists of these Tīrthaṅkaras seem to be working in a style not substantially removed from that of their predecessors 200 years earlier, for these Jaina sculptures show no indication that their artists assimilated the new modes prevailing in the area. This underscores the continuity of a Jaina workshop at Rājgir. In addition, the sculptures confirm Hsuan Tsang's observations regarding the strength of the Jaina community in Rājgir during the seventh century.[161] But, as during the previous century, so during the seventh century some Brahmanical art also was produced at Rājgir, though its style is distinctly different from that of the Jaina sculptures.

A fine Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu (Plate 82) was found in the Lower or Eastern Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, the one decorated with the Tīrthaṅkaras that I have assigned to the fifth century. Discovered lying in the verandah constructed in front of the cave, the figure is said to have been installed above the doorway leading to the cave's interior.[162] However, it appears unfinished, especially left of the pilaster, where the stone has not been fully removed and chisel marks are plainly visible; possibly it was never installed. This image has been used as evidence that the Son Bhaṇḍār Caves were taken over for Vaiṣṇava worship during the seventh century,[163] just as the caves of the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hills, excavated for the Ājīvikas in the Maurya period, were used to enshrine Brahmanical images in Gupta times.[164] Additional evidence for this change comes from a very small standing Viṣṇu etched on the left side of the doorway to the upper Son Bhaṇḍār Cave.

The large Viṣṇu sits erectly on the back of a smaller flying Garuḍa whose agile pose implies no strain under the weight of the passenger. Curiously, we find a similar flying Garuḍa subsequently in the art of Bengal but a static frontal vehicle elsewhere in the art of Bihar. Like other Garuḍāsana figures of the seventh and eighth centuries in Eastern India and Nepal, the attributes are held in the order prescribed for Śrīdhara in the customary lists of the twenty-four forms of Viṣṇu. Here, unlike any other Viṣṇu that I know, makara heads emerge from the back of the deity's hands. Though called a Gupta sculpture,[165] this figure has nothing in common with the Viṣṇu of the Maṇiyār Maṭh (Plate 18) or with Gupta Viṣṇu images from any other site; further, it is surely more developed than the Koṅch Viṣṇu (Plate 65), which has been ascribed above to the mid-sixth century. Instead, the figure follows more closely the form of the Aphsaḍ Viṣṇu that dates to the end of the seventh century. This sculpture thus indicates a continuation into the seventh century of a Brahmanical art at Rājgir, though in a style generally more refined than the style of contemporary Jaina images.

It seems likely that the entrenched artists of Rājgir worked for Jaina patrons, while those at Nālandā worked largely for Buddhist patrons, and at both places artists followed styles that can be traced from generation to generation. However, the single Brahmanical sculpture from Rājgir that we can confidently ascribe to the seventh century is rendered in a style entirely different from the Jaina and Buddhist images of the region and appears to have no local precedents, not even in the Maṇiyār Maṭh stuccoes, Brahmanical sculptures located only about 500 yards away. Hence, until further evidence appears, it may be suggested that at this time, though not during the subsequent period, sculptures who worked for Hindu patrons were not established in the area.

The Gaṅgā Valley

It may be stretching a point for the sake of consistency to call this section Art of the Gaṅgā Valley, for the sites that have yielded sculpture and architecture of the century and a half after the decline of the Guptas are no longer all close to the Gaṅgā River. Instead, major religious centers were developed at several places south of the Gaṅgā. Significantly, this locale corresponds with the findspot of inscriptions issued by the Later Gupta monarchs Ādityasena and Jīvitagupta and also with the route taken by the Chinese pilgrim Hsuan Tsang. Unlike Fa Hsian, whose route from Vārāṇasī eastward adhered to the Gaṅgā, Hsuan Tsang moved south from Pāṭaliputra to Gayā and Rājgir and then, remaining south of the river, toward Monghyr (ancient Mudgalagiri), along a route passing through modern Giriyek, Sheikpura, and Lakhisarai.[166] As I have said earlier, the reason for the apparent abandonment of Pāṭaliputra and the establishment of new political, cultural, and religious centers is not clear. Whatever the reason, the shift necessitated the development of routes connecting the centers and lent impetus to the development of religious centers with the requisite temples and images along the routes.

Aphsaḍ, four miles east of Warsaliganj in Gayā District, was certainly one of the places that benefitted from the development of the new routes. However, the extensive development of the site in the seventh and eighth centuries did not occur without precedents in the vicinity, so there is no reason to suppose that artists had to be brought from a great distance. Devangaṛh, the provenance of the three early Gupta sculptures comprising the Ekānaṁśā Trio (Plates 8–10), is located about 18 miles to the south, and Rājaona,

which yielded the beautiful Gupta-period pillars (Plates 27–29), is located about 28 miles east, along the route to Mudgalagiri. Hence an established Brahmanical artistic tradition existed in the vicinity.

Today in Aphsaḍ are the remains of a very large temple whose plinth is decorated with stucco reliefs as well as several stone sculptures, mostly dating to the seventh and eighth centuries. In addition, two sculptures from Aphsaḍ are now in American collections. But the importance of the site primarily derives from an inscription discovered there that records the dedication by Ādityasena of a temple of Viṣṇu, the establishment of a sanctuary[167] by his mother Śrīmatī, and the excavation of a tank by his wife Koṇadevī; it further gives a partial genealogy of the Later Guptas of Magadha.[168] While the precise findspot of the inscription was not recorded, it most likely refers to the dedication of the temple whose ruins form by far the largest mound in the village, the temple whose plinth is decorated with stucco panels illustrating episodes from the *Rāmāyaṇa* (Plates 83–86).[169] Like the stucco sculptures of the Nālandā stūpa, these are placed within alternating rectangular and keyhole-shaped niches, approximately 36″ by 20″, separated from one another by pilasters whose basic form corresponds very closely with that of the Nālandā pilasters. Here, however, the surfaces are more highly ornamented, probably indicating a somewhat later date. Hence one might be tempted to suggest that the workshop of artists that had produced the Maṇiyār Maṭh decoration during the sixth century and the Nālandā stūpa sculpture during the first half of the seventh century simply moved eastward at the behest of the king of the realm. However, the shape of the niches and the pilaster form are about the only features these stucco sculptures share with the earlier ones from Rājgir and Nālandā. Instead of a single main image with much smaller attendants as we see in the niches of those monuments, here in each niche the principal characters of the epic are shown in equal size, and they are placed in a setting rendered both by relief and incised line. In the earlier two stucco monuments, the setting is entirely neglected. In figure style, too, these images show no evidence of the Sārnāth influence that was so prominent in the sculptures of the Rājgir-Nālandā region. Their precedents are not easy to trace, although the somewhat more elegant figures of the Rājaona pillars may be related, while the reliefs of Pātharghāṭā (Plates 33–35), not much farther away, provide likely antecedents for both the sculpture style and narrative content of these stuccoes.

A highly fragile material, stucco undoubtedly was used much more widely in Eastern India than remains known today show. Where stucco sculptures survive, they adorn brick, not stone, monuments, and so we may imagine that many of the brick temples remaining in Eastern India in various states of preservation once were adorned with stucco sculptures. One writer has suggested that the popularity of stucco art may be associated with the spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism,[170] and to an extent this may be true. But the use of this medium was by no means restricted to Buddhist art. At Rājgir the Maṇiyār Maṭh was a Brahmanical monument, although the source of its sculpture style may be traced to Sārnāth. However, at Aphsaḍ, and presumably at other places, stucco was used for Brahmanical sculptures whose style is entirely unrelated to the prevailing style in the Rājgir-Nālandā area.

A short distance from the remains of the Viṣṇu temple is a modern temple enshrining the famous Aphsaḍ Varāha image (Plate 87). A large, fully zoomorphic image of the Boar incarnation of Viṣṇu whose body is covered with small human figures, the sculpture bears a remarkably close iconographic resemblance to the Varāha at Eran.[171] In form, however, the Aphsaḍ image is vastly more refined — a point that should dispel the notion that Gupta-period art is invariably excellent. The Aphsaḍ image is well-modeled, while the Eran Boar is planar, almost block-like in appearance, and the Pṛthivī of the earlier image dangles precariously, while the goddess of the Aphsaḍ sculpture is securely seated, extending an arm upward to grasp the boar's tusk. Still, we must be struck by the iconographic similarity, which extends from the small figures covering the body, representing the sages and gods who took shelter in the boar's bristles, to the image rendered in the ear and the projection behind the head that, though broken on the Aphsaḍ Varāha, also must have carried four images in the manner of the projection atop the Eran Varāha. This similarity is especially striking since the Eran figure is the only known zoomorphic Varāha dating before the Aphsaḍ image, all others being of the composite type (Nṛ-Varāha). Hence it is difficult to believe that the similarity is coincidental or that the intent of the patron was dissimilar. Several writers, V. S. Agrawala first among them,[172] have noted the political allegory suggested by the earliest known colossal sculpture of Varāha, the composite type figure at Udayagiri, which is associated with the inscription of the Mahārāja Sanakānika, a subordinate of the paramount sovereign Candragupta II.[173] It is significant to note, then, that royal endowments also heavily supported the religious monuments at both Eran and Aphsaḍ. At Eran, the Varāha was set up by Dhanyaviṣṇu, who together with his recently deceased elder brother, the Mahārāja Matṛviṣṇu, had established the standard (dhvajastambha) surmounted by a personification of Viṣṇu's wheel.[174] There, in spite of the ill-shaped appearance of the image, the intention must have been to proclaim the righteous and valiant deeds of the monarch, as if he figuratively had saved the earth in the same way that Viṣṇu was said to have rescued it in his boar incarnation. That analogy seems to be implied in the inscription written on the boar itself.[175] If that is the case, then is it not safe to assume that the Aphsaḍ Varāha was established by Ādityasena, at least in

part as a testament to his great deeds? Ādityasena's inscription at Aphsaḍ recording the religious donations of his family certainly proclaims his valor more than his piety. On seeing the Varāha in the act of rescuing the earth, could one fail to be reminded of the valorous royal benefactor of Aphsaḍ, the monarch who reestablished the glory of the Later Guptas of Magadha? I have little doubt that this was the intention.

Two other Vaiṣṇava sculptures from the site but now in American collections[176] undoubtedly are products of Ādityasena's time. One is a standing Viṣṇu (Plate 88), now in a private collection in New York, whose style closely anticipates an eighth-century Viṣṇu at the Dharmāraṇya near Bodhgayā (Plate 149). The figure is more slender and more firmly formed than the sixth-century Viṣṇu from Koṅch (Plate 65), so that the artist has been able to pay greater attention to detail of surface ornament. As a result, it is more ornately decked than the Koṅch figure. In spite of the firm appearance of the surface, the figure is less formalized than later images, and the body does not show the sharp division between chest and stomach that we encounter on many eighth-century sculptures in the area, for example on a Viṣṇu from this same site (Plate 195) and others from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 192) and Sultānganj (Plate 196). The contemporary Cakrapuruṣa now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 89) must have belonged to a life-size image of Viṣṇu, though not one that I can identify. The Viṣṇu now in the Indian Museum (Plate 195) is the only life-size one I know from the site, but it is quite different in form and surely later in date. The tribhaṅga stance of the Cakrapuruṣa is reminiscent of the pose of other figures dating to the late seventh century, for example the standing Kārttikeya from Muṇḍeśvarī (Plate 58), as is the simple rope-like belt that the figure wears.

A few other sculptures, mostly fragmentary, that may be assigned to the time of Ādityasena remain at the site. Of these, we might cite the lower part of an image of Sūrya (Plate 90), largely because it probably served as a model for a later figure of the god (Plate 194) from Aphsaḍ. Tall and slender like the Cakrapuruṣa just discussed, the complete image must have shown much of the grace we see in the Pṛthivī of the great Varāha sculpture and the other figures at Aphsaḍ dating to Ādityasena's time.

Two sculptured double-sided wheels showing a dancing figure against each side have been found about 15 miles due south of Aphsaḍ. The image in the Naradah Museum, Nawādā (Plates 91, 92) is said to have come from Marūī, while the very similar sculpture in the Patna Museum (Plates 93, 94) is said to have come from Mahrāwāṅ.[177] These villages are less than two miles apart, and in fact the sculptures were probably found at a single site between the two.[178] Though they exhibit differences in figure form, iconographically they are identical. Most notable among the similarities are the poses of the figures on each side and the decoration of the wheels, including the motifs of the rim and the petal-like creases of the spokes. However, the form of the figure now in the Naradah Museum indicates a date somewhat earlier than the other sculpture. Its more sensitive modeling and sparse ornament suggest that it may have been made during the sixth century, perhaps not much later than the Rājaona pillar reliefs. As the figure now in the Patna Museum was almost surely modeled on the earlier one, it retains strong vestiges of an earlier style. However, the torso is more elongated, the body surface less modeled, and the limbs more angular, all indications of a later date, not simply of a different artist. In addition, the ornament is more extensive; for example, a necklace of the sort commonly worn by youthful figures such as the Mañjuśrī of Nālandā (Plate 71) replaces the simple ekāvali of the earlier figure, and pairs of parallel lines define garment folds, a feature seen only after the middle of the seventh century, for example on the Sarvāṇī from Deulbāḍī (Plate 113). The figure is sufficiently close in form to the Aphsaḍ Cakrapuruṣa that we may assign it to about the same time. Its iconography, however, is distinctly different, although both figures represent personifications of Viṣṇu's wheel.

We have already encountered one Gupta-period sculpture showing a male figure against each side of a wheel, the image from Sālār in Murśidābād District (Plate 38), and discussed the symbolism of such images, noting particularly the correspondence with the Eran cakra personification atop the pillar inscribed with Mātṛviṣṇu's dedication and the appropriateness of such an emblem for a royal donation. It conveys at once Viṣṇu's authority and universality and at the same time implies these qualities of the emperor, qualities customarily stated in imperial religious donations, as we have just seen at Aphsaḍ.[179] Here, then, as at Eran, it seems probable that the sculptures were emblems surmounting a dhvajastambha that carried an inscription proclaiming the royal establishment of a Viṣṇu temple. Who the earlier donor might have been is difficult to guess, though it may have been a local king whose name has not been preserved. The later one, however, may have been Ādityasena. In the absence of firm evidence, of course, identifying the donor is purely speculation, but stylistic considerations indicate that the sculpture is not far removed from the time of this monarch, and we can surmise from the Aphsaḍ Varāha this king's interest in religious symbols that carry the notion of political allegory.

Why, then, two such images at the same site? Here again we can only speculate, although excavations might do much to provide a solution. Either there were two standard posts and perhaps two temples at the site, each provided by a different donor, or else the later cakra personification was erected when the earlier one had fallen and been damaged. Precedents exist for both possibilities. For example, at Bes-

nagar the famed Garuḍa-*dhvaja* dedicated by Heliodoros seems to have had a mate among the several standards at the site;[180] and in the Kathmandu Valley the artist of a Viṣṇu Vikrāntamūrti even copied verbatim the inscription of the original, though he did not reproduce the sculptural style faithfully when he carved a replacement for an earlier damaged relief of this diety.[181]

Two iconographic features of these cakra personifications are particularly notable. First are the indications of age, that is the coiffure (kākapakṣa) of both and the necklace of the later one, which are reserved for youthful figures such as Kārttikeya, Kṛṣṇa, and Mañjuśrī. These features are seen also on one later personification of Viṣṇu's wheel (Plates 153, 154). Second is the dancing pose of the figures on each side of the wheel. While essentially motionless personifications of Viṣṇu's wheel are customary, even in Eastern India, for example the Sālār sculpture, other dancing figures against both sides of a wheel are known exclusively from Eastern India and dating only to later times. One from Bodhgayā (Plates 153, 154) probably comes from the time of Dharmapāla, while another, also probably dating to the eighth century, comes from Enda in West Dinājpur District (Plate 238).

Hsuan Tsang apparently stopped nowhere in the area we have been discussing,[182] essentially corresponding with the Nawādā Subdivision of Gayā District. The notable dearth of Buddhist remains there makes this quite understandable: There was nothing to attract the Chinese pilgrim. However, Cunningham presumed that Hsuan Tsang incorrectly recorded the distance which he traveled between the site of the Indraśila Guha, that is, modern Giriyek, and his next recorded stop, the Pigeon Monastery. Revising the distance from 150 or 160 li to 50 or 60 li, Cunningham identified the location of the Pigeon Monastery with modern Pārbatī,[183] about a mile north of Aphsaḍ. However, there is no reason to make such a revision.[184] Even if Cunningham were correct, the records of the Chinese pilgrim would still confirm the impression that the area was not a stronghold of Buddhism, for he noted few images at the Pigeon Monastery or in its vicinity. It was not until Hsuan Tsang reached Hiraṇya Parvata, that is, modern Monghyr, and in the course of his eastward journey along the Gaṅgā that he once again encountered flourishing Buddhist centers.

No clear explanation is available for the dearth of Buddhist establishments in the area. Their virtual absence may be due to happenstance, to a long-standing tradition, or to the influence of the Later Gupta kings. By the last-named, I do not mean to imply that the kings were hostile to Buddhism, for Nālandā flourished in the heart of their realm. But it is curious to note that at Nālandā, in spite of its many royal benefactors, no evidence has come to light to indicate Later Gupta support for the Mahāvihāra, although the kings of this dynasty, particularly Ādityasena, provided considerable support for Hindu monuments. In addition to patronage for Aphsaḍ, Ādityasena and his family were benefactors for Vaiṣṇava monuments at Mandāra Hill, located thirty miles south of Bhāgalpur, ancient Champā, in Bhāgalpur District.

Two modern Jaina temples are at the summit of Mandāra Hill, and at the base of the hill is a tank known as the Pāpahāriṇī. On a large plateau about halfway to the top is a cave, apparently a natural cavern that has been enlarged and provided at the back with a poorly preserved rock-cut image of Narasiṁha. Opposite the cave is a tank known as the Ākāśa-Gaṅgā or the Sītā Kuṇḍa. At this level there is also a large rock-cut relief of Trivikrama and a colossal male figure locally called Madhu carved from the stone of the side of the hill. The ruins of several stone temples may be seen on the plateau, but no sculptured images remain among the ruins.

The monuments of the site may extend back long before Ādityasena's time, some believe as early as the fourth century, for an inscription on the ceiling of the Narasiṁha cave dated in the year 30 has been referred to the Gupta era by D. C. Sircar on the basis of epigraphic style and thus dated 349/50 A.D.[185] The inscription proclaims the dedication of an image called Virajoguhāsvāmin, probably the Narasiṁha at the back of the cave, by Ārya Viṣṇudatta. While I am loath to dispute Sircar's contention that the style of writing is early, no evidence exists that the Gupta era was in use at such an early date. That the era is reckoned from 319/20 A.D. is no reason to suppose that the dating was used so early. The inscriptions of Samudragupta bear no dates, though by the beginning of the fifth century, during the reign of Candragupta II, the Gupta era surely was in use.[186] One might not expect a Gupta monarch to be mentioned in an inscription written when the Gupta era was so widely known that the point of reference need not be stated, but during the early years of Gupta rule, we should expect the emperor's name to appear if the Gupta era is intended. If Sircar is correct and the date should be referred to the Gupta era, then the date would only prove the antiquity of artistic activity at the site. It would have little significance so far as the image is concerned, since that sculpture is badly effaced.

Only a century ago the figure must have been in far better condition, as the remarks of a nineteenth-century traveller attest:

> On the roof [of the cave] there is an inscription in large letters which has not yet been deciphered. . . . The ascetic residing on the hill, who has his cottage contiguous to the cave, . . . assists pilgrims with lamps to observe the representation of one of the incarnations of Vishnu—carved in stone—on the middle of the floor. The image in the center is that of Vishnu in the shape of the man-lion, its eyes almost glaring with unearthly lustre and its claws tearing into pieces the body of a Titan thrown over his thigh, while a child stands underneath with half-shut eyes trembling at the fearful scene.[187]

An ascetic still illuminates the cave for the benefit of those who fail to bring a flashlight, and if the image today were as well preserved as it was a hundred years ago, one might be able to determine relatively easily whether it could have been executed as early as the fourth century.

Three inscriptions of Ādityasena commemorate endowments for monuments of Mandāra Hill, but ultimately they are more tantalizing than helpful. Their significance lies largely in the additional evidence they yield for the extent of patronage this monarch provided and the development of sites south of the Gaṅgā at this time. Two of these inscriptions are identical short records commemorating the dedication of a tank by Ādityasena's wife, Koṇadevī.[188] I have been unable to locate either of them, and as there are two tanks, one near the base of the hill and one on the large plateau, it is not clear which one was excavated during Ādityasena's time. Descriptions of the location of these inscriptions are ambiguous but seem to suggest that they were placed near the lower tank.[189] If that was the tank dedicated by Koṇadevī, then we gain few insights into the seventh-century art of Mandāra Hill, for the remains close to it include only a solitary foundation and a few stone slabs, mostly undecorated.

The third inscription[190] is known only from a late copy written during the sixteenth or seventeenth century[191] that was found at the Vaidyanātha temple at Deoghar in Santal Parganas District. This epigraph in seven lines speaks of Ādityasena and his wife, Kośadevi [*sic*] coming from a Cola metropolis after having performed appropriate sacrifices. On Mandagiri, probably Mandāra Hill, they established a temple (*saṁstham*) of Nṛhari, and also there one Balabhadra (possibly an epithet for Ādityasena) established an image of Varāha. The inscription is puzzling, either because this is an inaccurate copy of an inscription engraved during Ādityasena's time or because it is a spurious record attributing works to Ādityasena simply on the basis of a tradition of this king's support for the site.[192] I am inclined to believe the latter for several reasons. First, the reference to Ādityasena having come from a Cola city has no historical basis. Ādityasena lived before the great Coḷa dynasty of Tanjore was founded, and since there is no reason to believe that he ever was in South India, it is unnecessary to speculate that he might have gone to a city ruled by one of the earlier Coḷa families. Rather, I believe that the writer of the inscription made reference to a Cola city because of a local tradition, current at least as recently as the early nineteenth century, that the ancient buildings on Mandāra Hill had been constructed by a king "of the Chol caste" who once ruled there.[193] Second, the reference to Ādityasena's establishment of a temple of Nṛhari probably is an attempt to credit to this monarch the excavation of the Narasiṁha cave, which, as proved by the inscription on its ceiling, was excavated at the expense of Ārya Viṣṇudatta. The writer of the Deoghar inscription must have simply overlooked — or found illegible — the inscription on the cave's ceiling. I know of no other Narasiṁha at the site. The only Varāha that I know from Mandāra Hill was made long after Ādityasena's time, though this very image may have been known to the writer of the inscription who, unaware of its Pāla date, sought to credit Ādityasena for the sculpture. Sadly, then, at Mandāra Hill we are left with no remains except perhaps the lower tank that can be attributed to Ādityasena's time.

Only one other Brahmanical sculpture of the Gaṅgā Valley need be mentioned here, a statue of Kārttikeya seated on his peacock vāhana (Plate 95) now installed outside of the Hari Kaṭorā temple on the outskirts of Vaiśālī. This is far north of the Gaṅgā, though no farther than Mahrāwāṅ and Marūī are south of the river, but the sculpture is discussed here because it too indicates increasing work at sites some distance from centers close to the river. As we noted at the outset of this chapter, Hsuan Tsang found Vaiśālī essentially deserted, and insofar as he meant the absence of a thriving Buddhist community, we may presume that his report is accurate. However, here as elsewhere in Eastern India, the Brahamanical community extended increasing patronage to artists to make stone sculptures. Evidence in the form of abundant seals shows that Vaiśālī flourished even as late as the fifth century,[194] although no sculptures there can be attributed to that date. In fact, during its entire history, the paucity of stone sculpture at Vaiśālī is most notable. There was never a highly prolific workshop there, even during Pāla times, for after the famous Vaiśālī lion column of the Maurya period, this Kārttikeya is the first stone sculpture in the area; only a few others of later date have been found.[195] The Kārttikeya is neither finely executed nor finely preserved, but the figure is sufficiently close in form to the Aphsaḍ Viṣṇu (Plate 88) and especially the Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu now in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 107) that we may assign it also to the seventh century. This isolated sculpture should not be taken as evidence that Vaiśālī returned to prominence sometime during the seventh century. Rather, its significance lies in that it represents a stone sculpture from a site that previously had yielded few others. This sculpture and those at many other sites indicate the spread of images over a much broader area in Eastern Indian than occurred during the Gupta age, and thus perhaps point to the rise of local ateliers that achieve increasing patronage and prominence during the subsequent centuries.

Moving eastward from Hiraṇyaparvata, Hsuan Tsang proceeded to Champā without taking special note of a vihāra that sculptural remains show must have been active during the seventh century. This is the monastery at Sultānganj, 15 miles west of Bhāgalpur in Bhāgalpur District, which has yielded the famous life-size bronze Buddha (Plates 96, 97), the largest bronze image yet discovered in India.

The monastery at the modern town of Sultānganj was discovered in 1862 in the course of amateur excavations

supervised by E. B. Harris, Resident Engineer of the East Indian Railway.[196] He uncovered a large mound, evidently the remains of a stūpa, as well as vihāras laid out in typical plan with an open courtyard surrounded on all four sides by cells, and a large hall. In the center of this hall he found the life-size metal image of the Buddha, knocked down and removed several feet from its pedestal, and also two smaller stone Buddha images, now both sadly lost.

The metal Buddha stands 7′6″ tall, the right hand raised in abhaya mudrā, the left hand holding the end of the outer garment at waist level. Like figures from the Rājgir-Nālandā area, the image is rendered in a pose derived from the ābhaṅga stance of Gupta Buddhas at Sārnāth. Garment folds are marked by symmetrical broad ridges across the body. Though lines to indicate garment folds are occasionally seen in the Gupta Buddhas of Sārnāth, they are used in Eastern India for the first time during the seventh century, for example on a seated Buddha of the Great Stūpa at Nālandā (Plate 69). When the image was discovered, its condition was almost perfect except for the left foot, which was broken at the ankle. However, subsequently a large hole was cut at the chest, and chips were cut from other parts of the body, apparently by treasure hunters hopeful of finding loot inside the figure.[197] The patches that cover this damage are apparent.

The disposition of the sculpture after its discovery is unrecorded, but it must have been brought to England quite quickly, for in 1864 a former mayor of Birmingham wrote the current mayor that he had "very recently received from India a collection of Buddhist remains, discovered at Sooltangunge, on the Ganges."[198] Among these remains he describes the metal Buddha. The collection was offered to the city museum then under construction, and it was accepted by resolution of the Birmingham Borough Council on October 11, 1864. The bronze Buddha and a superb stone Siṁhanāda Lokeśvara from Sultānganj are today among the leading treasures of the Birmingham Museum, although the museum apparently never received the other Buddhist remains from Sultānganj.

Until very recently, the metal Buddha has been assumed to be a product of the Gupta period. For example, Rajendralala Mitra, who first brought the figure to public attention, implied that he believed it was cast in Gupta times, since he noted that the small stone images found with the lifesize metal Buddha and which "bear a very close resemblance to the copper statue" carry inscriptions on the pedestals engraved in what he described as Gupta characters.[199] Subsequently, Cunningham recognized the image as being "clearly of the same style as the Gupta Buddhist statues which he dug up at Sārnāth, Benares, in 1835–36, thus agreeing as to age with that already deduced from the inscriptions in Gupta characters."[200]

Cunningham also found additional evidence to support his view that the sculpture should be assigned a Gupta date. In 1879 he removed Mr. Harris' house, which had been situated at the top of a mound, and sunk a shaft into the center of the mound much as that he had done at the Dhamekh Stūpa at Sārnath about a decade earlier.[201] At Sultānganj, however, his exploration was somewhat more fruitful. He found that the Sultānganj stūpa that lay beneath the mound must have been at least 90 feet in diameter, standing on an octagonal plinth. It enveloped an older small brick stūpa only eight feet in diameter, which enshrined the relic vessel. Among the items in the reliquary were two silver coins, one of the Mahākṣatrapa Rudrasiṁha, the son of the Mahākṣatrapa Satyasiṁha, i.e., Rudrasiṁha III, and one of his vanquisher Candragupta II.[202] Since the dates of Candragupta II have been fixed at c. 375–414, Cunningham assumed that the Sultānganj stūpa and hence the metal image found nearby could be ascribed to the beginning of the fifth century, although he demonstrated no direct connection between the first integument of the stūpa and the metal Buddha.[203] The Gupta date that Cunningham assigned to the sculpture was corroborated, he believed, by the discovery of a stucco head that he thought to be a "very close copy of the Sārnāth style of Buddhist sculpture."[204] He believed that the exterior of the stūpa had been covered with stucco and modeled with niches, each containing an image of the Buddha or a Bodhisattva, no doubt resembling the Great Stūpa of Site No. 3 at Nālandā.

Since Cunningham's time, a Gupta date has been widely accepted for the sculpture. But the logic used to deduce the Gupta date is faulty: First, as we have already noted, no clear connection can be made between the metal Buddha and the establishment of the stūpa at the beginning of the fifth century. Those who attempt to corroborate the sculpture's early Gupta date by comparisons with Gupta sculptures of Sārnāth actually weaken their case, since that school flourished three-quarters of a century later than the foundation of the Sultānganj stūpa and in any event had a profound influence on the art of Eastern India even as late as the eighth century. Finally, the stucco head that Cunningham believed to have been part of the stūpa's exterior decoration would have been added during the structure's final phase of construction and embellishment, not the original, early fifth-century phase. Hence its stylistic similarity to the bronze Buddha provides no evidence for an early fifth-century date.

Douglas Barrett was first to propose a much later date for the Sultānganj Buddha. He suggested that it was made about the time of Devapāla (c. 818–858).[205] Others recently have followed him in suggesting a Pāla date for the sculpture,[206] but no one has stated the case in any detail, and I believe that they would have difficulty presenting convincing arguments for any date later than the seventh century. They may believe that Gupta artists could not produce a metal image of such large size as the Sultānganj Buddha, especially since little has been known until recently about Gupta metal

sculpture, while abundant Pāla bronzes attest to the skill and sensitivity of artists at that time. But now several bronze images dating to the Gupta period and succeeding centuries have come to light and verify the superb quality of metal sculpture at that time.[207]

In fact, despite its Gupta affinities, the Sultānganj Buddha should be assigned to the seventh century. No doubt the Sultānganj Buddha relates to the Gupta Buddhas of Sārnāth, just as much of the other Buddhist art of Eastern India derives its inspiration from the Sārnāth style. But enough differences are apparent to indicate that the bronze Buddha was made at a later date. For example, the pose is not the gentle, flowing ābhaṅga stance of the Sārnāth figures, but rather a somewhat stiffer pose whose rhythm is broken at the waist and neck where a shift of axis occurs. The face has full, pudgy cheeks as on the Telhāṛa Buddha (Plate 79), and incised lines are used to delineate the eyebrows, the pupils, and the ūrṇā, as we often see during the seventh century, for example on the contemporary Tetrāwāṅ Buddha (Plate 78), but not on Gupta images of the Sārnāth school. It is equally clearly not of early Pāla date, as indicated by a comparison with the first dated Buddha images of the Pāla period, a pair of Buddhas inscribed in the time of Śūrapāla (c. 858–862),[208] the successor of Devapāla. These figures are considerably farther removed from the Sārnāth prototype than the Sultānganj image. The thick thighs, wide hips, and narrow waist yield an entirely different silhouette than that of the Sultānganj Buddha. Other differences including the more gently modeled surface and graceful elongation of the Sultānganj Buddha preclude a date for this piece any time during the ninth century. Rather, the figure appears to have been made a generation or two in advance of an eighth-century stone Buddha now placed beside the doorway of the Bodhgayā temple (Plate 141) and most closely resembles the seventh-century stucco images of the Nālandā stūpa. Thus a stylistic analogy suggests a seventh-century date.

This date is confirmed by recent radiocarbon dating of material taken from the figure's core.[209] Other results of a thorough technical analysis to which the image was subjected are awaited; until they appear, we must rely on Rajendralala Mitra's rather casual observations regarding the figure's composition. For example, he noted that the figure was cast in several parts, one from the head to the breast, and a second from the breast to the knees. The legs, feet, arms, and back, he says, were cast separately in several pieces.[210] These sections, if Rajendralala has observed all the seams, are very large, the lower one being almost four feet long. Other bronze sculptures of this size and even much larger existed during the seventh century, if Hsuan Tsang's report is to be believed, implying that foundries of enormous capacity were available and that the casters' skill was highly developed. If such a foundry existed at Sultānganj, then excavations at the site should have revealed other bronze sculptures. Since they have not, we may presume that either the bronze casters were itinerant and able to set up their facilities wherever they were called, even to make a single image, or else the sculpture was imported to Sultānganj from some other place. As the material and facilities the bronze casters needed must have been considerable, the latter seems more likely; given the stylistic features that this sculpture shares with the images of Nālandā and the prolific work of the bronze casters of Nālandā, known from at least the eighth century onward, that site is a likely source for the bronze Buddha.

At least one writer has noted that none of the Chinese travelers describes any monastic establishment just west of Champā, the capital of Aṅga, in a location that might correspond with Sultānganj. For proponents of a Gupta date for the bronze Buddha, the solution is easy: The monastery had been deserted and fallen to ruin by the time of Hsuan Tsang,[211] while Fa Hsian's comments are so cursory that he may have seen it but neglected to comment on the place. If we maintain a seventh-century date for the sculpture, surely the monastery was occupied during Hsuan Tsang's time, so we must seek another explanation for the pilgrim's apparent silence. Either the place was not sufficiently significant to warrant comment (Hsuan Tsang often simply enumerates the number of priests and saṅghārāmas without comment), or, more likely, the vihāra at modern Sultānganj was located within the greater area of Champā during Hsuan Tsang's time, much in the way that Mṛgadāva was considered to be in Vārāṇasī, even though it is several miles from the modern city. When discussing Champā, Hsuan Tsang evidently refers to more than the capital city, so there is no need to suppose that the tens of saṅghārāmas he observed there were all located within the metropolitan area. Some, such as the one at Sultānganj, may have been on the outskirts of the city but included in the pilgrim's tally.

Also from Sultānganj and contemporary with the bronze figure is a stone Buddha head (Plate 98), which was in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, until its recent theft. While the face is more elongated than that of the bronze Buddha, it shows many very similar features, such as the incised lines to indicate eyebrows, the prominent nose with flattened ridge, and the protruding lower lip which is sharply delineated at the outer edge. Though probably from the hand of a different artist, this head is doubtless a product of the same time as the metal Buddha.

In addition to the Sultānganj bronze Buddha, a number of other Buddhist bronzes are contenders for a Gupta date.[212] Most of these are sculptures that only recently have come to public attention. They must have been preserved in Tibetan monasteries, brought to Tibet by pilgrims from many different places and over a long period of time.[213] No doubt they were carried out of Tibet by refugees who then sold

them. Though ascribed to the Gupta period, these bronzes by no means form a coherent stylistic group. Some of them do not even have an Indian origin, most notably the standing Buddha in the Cleveland Museum that has recently been shown to have originated in Nepal and to bear a date corresponding to 591 A.D.[214] Of the others, only some, such as the one formerly in the Boman Behram collection, now in a private collection in New York (Plate 99), are serious contenders for a late Gupta attribution, but the majority of the so-called Gupta bronzes probably do not date earlier than the second half of the sixth century. Thus there is no indication of active bronze-working ateliers during the Gupta period or even during the century following the downfall of the Guptas. Such ateliers developed during the eighth century and are discussed in the next chapter.

Because of their small size and hollow cast technique, which made them comparatively light weight, the bronzes, much more than stone sculptures, were treated as portable objects. The best proof is the collections in Tibetan monasteries, which as photographs show housed bronzes brought from Eastern and Western India as well as Kashmir.[215] The question arises then as to whether only a few bronze-producing centers supplied the needs of a large area or whether the bronzes were made at many places, essentially the places where they were found. Despite the evidence from the Tibetan monasteries and the suggestion above that the Sultānganj Buddha was made elsewhere, many local styles can be isolated, as the next chapter shows, and leave little doubt that at least in Eastern India bronze images were as much the products of local artists as were the stone sculptures.

Eastern India had a long-standing and unbroken tradition of bronze art beginning with the time of the Chausā bronzes in the early Gupta period. However, the area corresponding with modern Uttar Pradesh to the west shows no such bronze sculpture tradition. Two Kuṣāṇa bronzes were excavated at Soṅkh, near Mathurā, but none of later date,[216] and three Buddhist bronzes of the Gupta period were found at Dhanesar Khera in Banda District, Uttar Pradesh.[217] But of these three, at least one, the standing Buddha, was imported from Kashmir,[218] and the other two also may originate outside of the area. In addition, systematic excavations at such important sites in Uttar Pradesh as Sārnāth, Mathurā, and Kauśāmbī have failed to yield evidence of local bronze casting centers of any period. Thus it seems likely that a large portion of the bronze scuptures generally assigned to the Gupta period whose form is inspired by the Sārnāth style do not originate in Sārnāth itself or any other site in Uttar Pradesh but in Eastern India, where the Sārnāth style persisted long after the Gupta age. This includes the Buddha image in a New York private collection (Plate 99), most closely resembling a Sārnāth model, though little more so than many images from Eastern India, even some as far distant as Nepal.[219] Also a likely product of an Eastern Indian workshop is a Buddha image in the Norton Simon Collection (Plate 100). This figure appears elongated and generally mannered, in keeping with a style often encountered in the seventh century.

These discoveries, which have revealed few Gupta bronzes but increasing numbers from the succeeding centuries, must reflect an actual increased production. It is unlikely that chance alone could have led again and again to the discovery of a large number of bronze sculptures in Eastern India dating to the eighth century and later but relatively few from earlier centuries; this pattern is the same that we see with bronze sculptures in other parts of India. However, whether the increased production is due to the availability of the raw materials, the improved technical skill of the craftsmen, or simply the predilection of the patrons, we cannot guess.

Singhbhūm District

Most of the sculptures from Benisāgar in Singhbhūm District,[220] just a couple of miles from the Orissan border, date later than the seventh century and, not surprisingly, bear a striking resemblance to the art of Khiching, five miles away in Mayurbhañj District. In other words, the Orissan affiliation of those sculptures is closer than the Magadhan or Bengali affiliation. But a few images from Benisāgar that probably date to the seventh century bear notable similarities to styles that prevailed in the area comprising modern Bihar and Bengal in spite of the site's proximity to Orissa.

A standing image of Viṣṇu (Plate 101) holds the attributes in the order of Śrīdhara and, curiously, wears a crown adorned with a kīrttimukha much like the Viṣṇu of Koṅch (Plate 65) and two contemporary Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images (Plates 82 and 107). Here, as customary at this time, the two back hands of the deity extend downward and are placed on the shoulders of personifications of the wheel and mace. In addition to the large crown, the figure has considerable ornamentation, including a necklace, vanamālā, and yajñopavīta. Certain features such as the disproportionately large back arms, the poorly executed faces of the āyudhapuruṣas, and the inexplicable cloth ends that cling to the legs below the lower garment clearly indicate the sculpture's provincial character. Still, we must raise the question of the mainstream from which its artist drew his inspiration. Nearby Khiching is not a likely source, since all of the work there is much later and clearly of Orissan inspiration. Nor has any other site in the adjacent Mayurbhañj District produced such early work. To the west we might look toward the Chattisgaṛh region, ancient Dakṣiṇa-Kośala, since the Mahānadī River offered a route leading toward Singhbhūm, but there, in spite of the preference for

images of Viṣṇu holding the attributes in the order prescribed for Śrīdhara, the lower left hand is almost invariably placed on the hip. Nor can we suggest that the style originated in the area around modern Ranchi, transmitted southward along rivers such as the Svarṇarekhā, since no images of such early date are found near Ranchi. More likely, Bengal served as the source of inspiration. Such features as the flaring lower part of the dhoti and the pose of the āyudhapuruṣas, each holding a hand on the hip, show ties with figures from Bengal such as the contemporary Chaitānpur Viṣṇu (Plate 104) and the earlier Hāṅkrail figure (Plate 12) rather than with figures from Magadha. Routes leading toward the Bhagirathī River, perhaps toward Tāmralipta, may have been the pathway along which the style was transmitted.

A contemporary but even more provincial Viṣṇu from Benisāgar (Plate 102) confirms the association with Bengali sculpture. This is particularly evident in the type of necklace and armlets, also worn by the Chaitānpur Viṣṇu and a Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu in the Cleveland Museum of Art (Plate 107) that probably originated in Bengal. Also like that Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu and several other Bengali images, folds on the garment are shown by pairs of parallel lines. Only two other Viṣṇu images hold a rosary in place of the lotus, the Anantaśāyī at Sultānganj (Plate 30) and the Narasiṁha at nearby Shāhkuṇḍ (Plate 32). Although these sites are not precisely in Bengal, they are situated in the easternmost part of modern Bihar state, far closer to Bengal than to the heart of Magadha.

An indigenous style, less dependent on Bengali prototypes, was quickly developed in Singhbhūm District, as shown by a male deity from Benisāgar (Plate 103), a far less provincial work than the two images of Viṣṇu. I am unable to identify the figure, though it may be a musician since the object held in the two hands, customarily identified as a staff,[221] could represent a string instrument. The figure is seated with one leg pendant (*lalitāsana*) on a throne raised on legs, a type of seat commonly used in the art of Orissa but only rarely in the art of Bihar and Bengal. A small unadorned halo is placed behind the head. While different from the Viṣṇu images, it cannot be much later in date. The broad flat face and torso bear a striking resemblance to the eighth-century Mātṛkās of nearby Saraikela (Plates 206, 207), also in Singhbhūm District, though this figure generally appears softer and thus somewhat earlier, perhaps dating near the end of the seventh century. This, then, must be when the style of Singhbhūm began to break from dependence on Eastern Indian models.

The seventh-century date of these sculptures may be significant in light of a tradition current at Khiching about a century ago that the temples there were built by Śaśāṅka.[222] No monument at Khiching dates so early, but the tradition may be based on his association with places nearby, such as Benisāgar. Although their quality is hardly appropriate for a royal gift, the two Viṣṇu images may date to the time of this Gauḍa monarch and, in any case, do show influence from Bengal, if not specifically from the realm of Gauḍa. In the absence of any evidence, we would be hesitant to identify Śaśāṅka as the patron of any monument at Benisāgar, but we should note that his rule most likely extended over Singhbhūm District.[223]

These sculptures demonstrate the extent of Eastern Indian art. At this time, the art of Orissa was confined primarily to Bhuvaneśvara, where some of the earlier temples were under construction. However, in Eastern India artists were active over a far wider area, and so there is little wonder that their influence would reach even to the border of Orissa. As the Orissan artists expanded from the Bhuvaneśvara area, their influence gradually extended toward Singhbhūm District. Sculptures at Benisāgar datable after the mid-eighth century already reflect Orissan influence, but even the eighth-century Mātṛkās of Saraikela, located about 50 miles farther north in Singhbhūm District, still are not fully integrated into the Orissan style.

West and North Bengal

The sculptures from West and North Bengal, that is Gauḍa and Varendra, are mostly scattered remains, chance finds whose association with any particular religious or urban setting has not been established. Only at the Rājbādīdāṅgā, the site of Raktamṛttikā Vihāra on the outskirts of Śaśāṅka's capital, Karṇasuvarṇa, and at Mahāsthāngaṛh do we find monuments in a context that we can understand. But at both of these places, the paucity of sculptural remains is notable; hence as we have seen during the Gupta period, so during the following age stone remains an uncommon medium for the artists of Bengal.

Among all the known stone sculptures from Bengal, only two may be assigned with any confidence to the seventh century. Of these, one is a bit awkward in appearance, as if provincial, but more likely it is the work of artists less accustomed to chiseling stone. This is the Viṣṇu (Plate 104) found at Chaitānpur in Burdwān District and now housed in the Indian Museum, Calcutta. J. N. Banerjea, who first brought the image to public attention, contended that the figure represents an almost unique *abhicārika* Viṣṇu, that is a horrific form of the deity.[224] However, there can be little doubt that the features that Banerjea presumed to be indicative of the figure's horrific nature are nothing more than the result of crude workmanship; so during the seventh century a provincial character still marks some Bengali sculptures, much as we had seen in the sculptures attributed to the early Gupta period and also some of the contemporary sculptures of Benisāgar. As for the date, the image shows nothing marking it as a Gupta sculpture. Its elongated form may be related to that of the Khaḍga-period images from Samataṭa discussed below as well as to that of a Viṣṇu torso from

Jalabandha in Murśidābād District (Plate 242) that may be assigned to the eighth century. The extensive use of line, for example to mark the eyebrows, pupils, and knees, is seen elsewhere during the seventh century, most notably on the Sultānganj bronze Buddha, while the lines and ridges of the garment must be the result of an attempt at the sort of pattern we see on the garment of the late seventh-century Viṣṇu from Aphsaḍ (Plate 88) or the early eighth-century Jalabandha Viṣṇu.

The other surviving seventh-century stone sculpture from Bengal is an image of Sūrya from Kāśipur in 24 Parganas District (Plate 105).[225] The figure stands in the chariot, his feet and the lower part of his legs obscured as on the earlier Sūrya figure from Kumārpur (Plate 13). As prescribed for images of Sūrya, a lotus stalk is held in each hand, although in this case, several full-blown flowers grow from the stem's node, not just the single flower commonly depicted. Remains of the female archers, Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, may be seen by the side of the deity. The charioteer, Aruṇa, depicted in miniature form, sits in front of the god, driving the seven horses all rendered in three-quarter view on the pedestal. Iconographically this is quite similar to a Sūrya from Deorā in Bogra District (Plate 106), although that sculpture is more ornate, for example showing Sūrya's attendants, Daṇḍa and Piṅgala, in addition to the two female archers. Also the horses on the pedestal are differently arranged on the Deorā image, that is, with the central horse depicted frontally against the wheel and the three horses on each side galloping outward as on the Kumārpur Sūrya, an earlier product of Varendra.

The two Sūrya images, the one from Kāśipur and the one from Deorā, customarily are assigned the same date, although there is no convincing evidence to do so. S. K. Saraswati has suggested that both figures should be ascribed to the sixth century because they have a general resemblance to the sculptures of the Deogaṛh temple.[226] Indeed there is a general resemblance, especially of the Kāśipur image, to the Deogaṛh sculptures, but that Sūrya shows little of the graceful elegance that characterizes the art of Deogaṛh. Instead, the disproportionately heavy head is reminiscent of innumerable seventh-century sculptures, for example the Nālandā stucco figures, while the broad planes of the face and upper torso anticipate the treatment of some early eighth-century sculptures. On the other hand, the Deorā image, more sensitively modeled and ornately decked, belongs to a later date. It closely anticipates the beautiful bronze Bodhisattva from Mahāsthāngaṛh (Plate 228) and the stone sculptures of the Pāhārpur stūpa (Plates 220–224), products of the eighth century and from Varendra as well, while the two female archers bear a resemblance to the bronze Balarāma from Nālandā dated to Devapāla's reign (Plate 177). This piece, then, is best assigned to the eighth century.

One remaining stone sculpture of the seventh century may be tentatively ascribed to Bengal, in spite of its customary attribution to Bihar.[227] This is an image in the Cleveland Museum of Art representing Viṣṇu mounted on the back of a fully zoomorphic Garuḍa (Plate 107). The upper torso is bare but bedecked with jewelry, the *śrīvatsa*, and a yajñopavīta, while the lower part of the body is covered by a garment marked with pairs of parallel lines to indicate folds. Like other Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images of the seventh and eighth centuries, this figure holds the attributes in the order prescribed for Śrīdhara, although several stylistic and minor iconographic features distinguish the sculpture from the contemporary Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu found in the Son Bhaṇḍār Cave at Rājgir (Plate 16). For example, here Garuḍa is perfectly frontal, without any suggestion of flight, and the tail feathers of the mount form a backdrop for the head. The image appears to anticipate an eighth-century Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu from Nālandā (Plate 189), and so we must contend with the anomaly of a sculpture that we here attribute to Bengal resembling an image discovered at Nālandā, while the image from Rājgir, just seven miles from Nālandā, is substantially different. The situation appears all the more perplexing when we note that the Rājgir image shares certain features, most notably the Garuḍa in flight supporting a static, frontal Viṣṇu, with at least two ninth-century Garuḍāsana images from Bengal.[228] The explanation must be that when a fully zoomorphic Garuḍa was used, the figure was presented in a static and fully frontal position, while when an essentially anthropomorphic Garuḍa was used, the figure was shown in a position implying flight. This distinction seems to pertain not only in Eastern India, but elsewhere as well,[229] and in no part of Eastern India, at least during the period under consideration, was one form preferred over the other. Thus we must seek other evidence to determine the figure's provenance. Broad stylistic qualities offer little help, since the sculpture bears no distinct resemblance to any particular figure from either Magadha or Bengal. Hence we must turn to minor features in hope of finding a clue to the place of origin, and there we find some indication that it was made in Bengal. One writer, while still suggesting a Bihar provenance, has correctly observed that the necklace and armlets are identical to those worn by the Chaitānpur Viṣṇu but unlike any worn by figures from Magadha.[230] In addition, the pairs of short parallel lines to delineate garment folds were used occasionally in Bengal during the seventh century, for example on the lower garment of the Sarvāṇī image dedicated by Queen Prabhāvatī (Plate 113) discussed below, and on some of the Pāhārpur sculptures of the following century. When garment folds are indicated on the sculpture of Magadha at this time, they are shown by single sweeping lines. Hence it seems likely that the image was made in Bengal.

Though the image most recently has been ascribed to the sixth century,[231] the more commonly accepted seventh-century date seems likely.[232] True, there are reminiscences

of the Gupta style, but the disproportionate character of the figure, for example the stunted torso, is much more in keeping with the seventh-century style seen in such figures as the Kāśipur Sūrya. The firm appearance of the surfaces of both the body and face also recall the style of that Sūrya.

Outside of Southeast Bengal, which is treated separately below, excavations have been conducted at two major Bengali sites known from the account of Hsuan Tsang and from considerable archaeological evidence to have been flourishing during the seventh century. At both places, the excavations confirm what surface explorations and chance finds have suggested, namely, that at this time as during the Gupta period, stone sculpture was a rare commodity. Although from a statistical standpoint more stone sculptures from Bengal can be ascribed to the century and a half after the end of the Gupta age than to the Gupta period itself, they are still relatively much rarer in Bengal than in Magadha to the west, and at no Bengali site before Pāla times do we find extensive stone sculptural remains as we do at innumerable Magadhan sites.

Careful excavations at the Rājbāḍīdāṅgā in Murśidābād District have uncovered Raktamṛttikā Vihāra,[233] which flourished during the seventh century on the outskirts of Karṇasuvarṇa, Śaśāṅka's capital and then one of the principal cities of Bengal. Yet hardly a single stone sculpture was found there; of the few retrieved in the course of surface exploration in the vicinity, not one can be dated with confidence to the seventh century.[234] How different this region is from the monasteries of Magadha, all of which have yielded stone sculptures from this time. It is difficult to explain the absence of stone sculptures, in fact the apparent absence of any sort of sculptures, at the Raktamṛttikā Vihāra. Whether because of the scarcity of stone, the school of Buddhism followed there, or simply a tradition more secular than religious we cannot say for sure. The last-named seems most likely, however, since at no site in Bengal, Buddhist or Hindu, have sculptural remains of this time been found that are as numerous and extensive as those of Bodhgayā, Nālandā, Aphsaḍ, and several other places in Magadha. This, then, makes all the more mysterious the origin of such scattered stone sculptures as the two Sūrya images from Kāśipur and Deorā. While the absence of a strong tradition of stone sculpture might explain the provincial quality of the Chaitānpur Viṣṇu, how can we explain the fine quality of the Sūrya images? They are well-rendered figures that must have been made by experienced artists who produced other works. Yet we have no other evidence of their work, either in the vicinity or, supposing that they might have been itinerant, elsewhere in Bengal.

We have already commented on the dearth of sculpture of any period at the extensive site of Mahāsthāngarh. Here continued excavations conducted over a long period and at several places have failed to unearth a great number of stone sculptures, in spite of the remains of buildings of this period that have been exposed. This scarcity might seem to contradict Hsuan Tsang's report that the city flourished during the seventh century.[235] But just as one image from Mahāsthān could be ascribed to the late Kuṣāṇa period and another from nearby Nārhaṭṭa could be ascribed to the Gupta period, so during this period we have a couple of stone pillars (Plates 108, 109) that may have been carved for the maṇḍapa of a brick temple. However, the context of their discovery sheds little light on the date or function of these pillars. They were found amid the ruins of a temple ascribed to the Pāla period,[236] but they apparently were taken from an older monument, since a channel was cut along the back sides of the pillars so that they could serve as drains for the new structure. Their date, though, may be ascertained by comparison with the early eighth-century pillar at Deo Baruṇārk bearing the inscription of Jīvitagupta II (Plate 124). In details of ornament, the pillars are remarkably similar, beginning with the festoons here descending from the mouth of a kīrttimukha up through the pot-and-foliage capital. However, subtle differences indicate that the Mahāsthān pillars are earlier and should be ascribed to the seventh century. For example, at the base, we see figures standing in a keyhole-shaped niche, a common motif during the seventh century, seen on such monuments as the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Plates 47, 48). The festoons descend from the mouth of a kīrttimukha as we see elsewhere through the seventh century, while by the eighth century the zoomorphic form has been completely transformed to a floriate motif, both on the Jīvitagupta pillar and on the uprights of the Bodhgayā toraṇa (Plate 135). And above this, the demi-lunette is filled on the Mahāsthān pillars with figural forms, as we see earlier, for example on the Rājaona pillar (Plates 28, 29), while by the eighth century a single half lotus fills the space. Moreover, the quality of undercutting on both the floral motifs and the kīrttimukha creates a more luxuriant effect than on the eighth-century examples. The prototypes for these pillars may be seen in Gupta examples such as the one from Kauśāmbī,[237] on which the basic divisions, except for the figures at the base, correspond closely, although the decoration of the earlier pillar is notably more ornate.

At Mahāsthāngarh once again we face the puzzling situation of so few stone sculptures of any single time that it is hard to imagine the nature and context of the atelier that produced the work. We can guess, on the basis of the many excavations at Mahāsthāngarh, that the earth does not hold hidden evidence of an extensive stone art from this time or the preceding centuries. What then could explain a situation in which artists produced only a few stone sculptures in a generation? Certainly we must rule out the notion of amateur artists. That is both alien to the Indian tradition and entirely out of keeping with the form and quality of these pillars as well as the earlier works associated with Māhas-

thān. The artists may have been itinerant, but one remaining explanation seems more likely and must also pertain elsewhere in Bengal. These artists must not have restricted their work to stone. While recognizing that work in stucco and terracotta represents an essentially different technique from the subtractive process of stone sculpture, I can imagine no more convincing explanation for the generally refined quality of the remarkably few stone sculptures from Mahāsthāngaṛh. Inscriptional evidence, as we have shown earlier, certainly indicates the existence of many more temples in Bengal than now remain standing, and there is every reason to imagine that these temples were adorned with some sort of sculptural decoration. Temples at Nālandā and Bodhgayā, for example, show clear traces of stucco sculpture and ornamentation, and the terracotta plaques that often adorn Bengali monuments of the eighth century and later may represent a change from stucco to a more durable medium.[238] Stucco sculpture in all likelihood could not have survived the damp Bengali climate very long, but such sculptures easily could account for the refined form, in keeping with the latest developments elsewhere in India, of the few stone sculptures that have been found. While perhaps too often in the study of Indian art we cite perishable materials to explain the anomalous appearance of highly mature and refined stone sculptures, I can conceive no more likely explanation in this case. Abundant evidence exists for the use of stucco in Eastern India as well as for its limited durability — witness the Maṇiyār Maṭh sculptures, which did not survive a half century after their excavation and exposure to the atmosphere.

Southeast Bengal

During the seventh century Samataṭa rose to prominence, perhaps because it escaped the turmoil that embroiled much of the rest of Eastern India. Its early history is hardly known, and even during most of the seventh century we have little concrete information about Southeast Bengal. Not until the end of the seventh century, with the rise of the Khaḍgas, do we get continuous dynastic records. However, artistic activity began in this part of Bengal no later than the sixth century; we learn from the Gunaighar grant of 507/08 about a vihāra dedicated to Avalokiteśvara that was currently under construction, bounded on one side by a temple of Pradyumneśvara.[239] Hence, in spite of the relative paucity of early epigraphs from this part of Bengal, certainly some building activity occurred.

Probably even before the seventh century, the extensive monastic establishments on the Maināmatī Hills, about six miles west of modern Comilla, were begun.[240] Although we lack the extensive literary and epigraphic records that we have for Nālandā to determine the date of the various monuments of the Maināmatī Hills, sufficient information exists to make reasonable judgments about the dates of the building activity there, and we can safely conclude that during the course of the seventh and eighth centuries much of the work was done. Here, as almost everywhere else, the construction was accomplished in a great spurt of activity. Although monks apparently remained in residence at the Maināmatī vihāras for several centuries, there is no reason to suppose that he major building activity was spread over such a long time.

The remains of the area are located along a plateau running about 11 miles from north to south and about a mile in width. The most important of the monuments are the Ananda Vihāra, the largest monastery of Maināmatī of which sadly little remains, the Salban Vihāra, a great monastery and largest of the preserved sites of Maināmatī, and the Koṭilā Murā, three miles north of the Salban Vihāra, consisting of three adjacent stūpas raised on a large platform with nine smaller stūpas at the rear. The structures at these sites are made of brick, always a fragile material, but here further desecrated by troops entrenched along the ridge during World War II. Hardly any stone sculptures have been found during the Maināmatī excavations, although more than 100 bronze sculptures, many recently stolen from the Maināmatī Site Museum, were found in the course of excavations at the Salban Vihāra. These bronzes and some terracotta sculptures adorning the lower mouldings of the shrine at the center of the Salban Vihāra probably date to the eighth century and so will be discussed in the next chapter. However, the quadrangle of cells around the perimeter of the Salban Vihāra may have been constructed as early as the sixth century, since an inscription bearing the name of Vainyagupta was found in one of the cells.[241] Three inscriptions of the Khaḍga kings[242] further attest to the early use and occupation of the Salban Vihāra, although the central shrine, at least in its final form, was probably built later.

However, the stūpas of the Koṭilā Murā (Plate 110) date to the seventh century. The three adjacent brick stūpas probably symbolize the three jewels of the Buddhist faith as indicated by the ancient name of the place, Tri-Ratna Vihāra.[243] Within the shaft of the central stūpa were found two plaques carved of soft sandstone (Plates 111, 112) among the only stone sculptures from any site of the Maināmatī Hills.

Stūpas constructed like the central one of the Koṭilā Murā are virtually unknown elsewhere in Eastern India.[244] But like earlier monuments in both Gandhāra and Mathurā as well as in the Krishṇā River Delta, this stūpa has a plan in the shape of a great wheel, with the hub represented by a central shaft and the spokes formed by brick walls dividing the interior into eight cells. Within both the cells and the central shaft hundreds of miniature stūpas and clay sealings were discovered besides the two sculptured stone plaques already mentioned and further discussed below. Strangely,

nowhere else in Eastern India is a stūpa of this form known. The great stūpas of the region, for example at Nālandā and Pāhārpur, are solid and have no images buried within; so too are the stūpas at Sārnāth, the site whose sculptors lent such profound influence to Eastern India. But at Taxila,[245] where we also find a precedent for the cruciform plan stūpa developed so magnificently in Eastern India and at Mathurā,[246] stūpas of this wheel plan are known. They are also known at several sites in Andhradeśa,[247] which most likely served as the source of this stūpa form in Samataṭa. While little evidence is known for contact between Samataṭa and Andhradeśa in ancient times, the sea surely must have facliliated travel between these areas, both having excellent ports.[248]

Like the stūpa in which they were found, the two stone plaques have no real parallel in the art of Eastern India. Elsewhere the sculptures are generally single images, often attended by other much subsidiary figures, but relief plaques of this sort are virtually unknown elsewhere in Eastern India. The reliefs from Sārnāth depicting episodes in the Buddha's life and the Miracle of Śrāvastī[249] are similar in form and size, but ultimately the notion of carving plaques such as these may have been derived from the limestone stūpa casing plaques of Nāgārjunakoṇḍa and related sites in the Krishṇā River Delta. However, neither the style nor iconography of the Maināmatī plaques is derived from Southeast India.

One of the plaques (Plate 111), most often identified simply as illustrating the Buddha setting the Wheel of the Law in motion or on the museum lable as a two-armed Avalokiteśvara, shows a great lotus stem originating near the bottom of the plaque from behind a dharmacakra mounted on a pedestal. This stem gives forth a large central flower that serves as a seat for the main figure of the scene, a Buddha with the hands in dharmacakra mudrā, while subsidiary parts of the stem yield eight flowers supporting smaller seated figures lined against the sides of the relief. On first glance, the scene may appear to represent the Miracle of Śrāvastī, a theme well-known in the Pāla art of Magadha,[250] there generally following the iconographic pattern established during the Gupta period at Sārnāth: A central flower emitted by a lotus stem supports a main image of the Buddha, and several smaller flowers serve as seats for subsidiary figures also representing the Buddha.[251] However, the subsidiary images of this Maināmatī plaque do not represent the Buddha, so it cannot illustrate the Miracle of Śrāvastī. The composition also follows closely the *Aṣṭamahā-Bodhisattva Maṇḍala*, a theme common in Buddhist art from the Deccan to China,[252] though not in Eastern India. In depictions of this maṇḍala, the eight great Bodhisattvas are generally arranged around a dominant central Buddha, either Śākyamuni or Vairocana, very much as we see here. However, as the lower figures on each side are female, the plaque cannot illustrate this maṇḍala. Most likely, then, it illustrates the sort of theophany described with great frequency in Mahāyāna texts, in which the Buddha appears miraculously to preach to an assembled throng of deities.

The meaning of the other plaque (Plate 112) is no clearer. Generally identified as a four-armed image of Avalokiteśvara, the gracefully posed main figure, like its counterpart on the other plaque, is seated on the petals of a tall lotus whose subsidiary stems generate smaller flowers on which the attendants are seated. The main seated figure has no small meditating Buddha in the headdress to justify the identification as Avalokiteśvara, nor does any of the hands hold the lotus stem. Instead, one hand supports the body, the other supports the bowed head, and the objects held in the remaining two hands are effaced beyond recognition. Still, the figure may represent Avalokiteśvara, since he customarily wears such a tall *jaṭā*. If it is not Avalokiteśvara, then it is surely one of the other Bodhisattvas.

Perhaps the closest parallel to this figure, at least to its form if not its iconography, appears on a bronze stūpa found at Ashrafpur, 30 miles northeast of Dacca in Dacca District.[253] Although the figure on the stūpa has only two arms and appears somehwat less refined, the lithe form and easy pose are almost identical to that of the Bodhisattva on the Mainmatī stone plaque. Hence this stūpa must have been cast about the same time the stone plaques were carved.

The date of this bronze stūpa and thus of the two stone plaques from the Koṭilā Murā may be surmised from the context in which it was discovered. The stūpa is said to have been found together with two copper plates whose inscriptions provide the names of three generations of Khaḍga dynasty kings.[254] While the dates for these kings have not been determined precisely and conclusively, they must have ruled near the end of the seventh century, probably as contemporaries of Ādityasena and his successors in Magadha and Gauda.[255] The association of the bronze stūpa with these plates does not show definitely that they are contemporary, but it certainly provides a clue to the date. That they are contemporary, however, may be confirmed by a stylistic comparison of the stūpa figures and Koṭilā Murā stone plaque figures with a bronze image (Plate 113) identified by its inscription as representing Sarvāṇī, a form of Durgā. The inscription further states that the image was gilded by Prabhāvatī, the queen of Devakhaḍga, second to the last known monarch in the Khaḍga line.[256] The figure was found together with a small bronze Sūrya image (Plate 114) and several bronze liṅgas while a ruined building was being demolished at Deulbāḍī, about fourteen miles south at Comilla, not far from Maināmatī.[257] The Sarvāṇī was stolen from the temple in which it was housed after its discovery,[258] but the Sūrya, stylistically similar and thus contemporary, is now preserved in the Dacca Museum. The Sarvāṇī and her two attendants show much the same slender elongated form exhibited by the Bodhisattvas of the bronze

stūpa and the Koṭilā Murā plaque, whereas the contemporary Sūrya is not significantly different from the seated Buddha of the Maināmatī stone plaque. Thus the bronze stūpa from Ashrafpur, the stone plaques from the Koṭilā Murā, and probably the three brick stūpas of this site were made during the years of Khaḍga authority in Samataṭa, a time, as inscriptional records show, of increasing activity in this region.

While the form of these Deulbāḍī bronzes may be related to other contemporary sculptures from Southeast Bengal, they are iconographically unusual. I know of only one other image that may represent Sarvāṇī, a tenth-century figure from Harekṛṣṇapur in Rājshāhi District.[259] The Sūrya, though similar in style and in many details to the Kāśipur and Deorā images discussed above, is seated, not standing as are most Sūrya images from Eastern India. In fact, seated Sūrya images are rare in any part of India.

The unusual character of these bronze sculptures and the unusual plan of the central stūpa of the Koṭilā Murā suggest that Southeastern Bengal was culturally removed from the rest of Eastern India. Other indications as well show the unique character of this part of Bengal. For example, Barrie Morrison has observed that the land transfers recorded during the seventh century on copper plates (and almost all of the preserved seventh-century land transfer inscriptions from Bengal record donations in Samataṭa) are quite different in content from those issued earlier and later. This led him to conclude that this was "the home of a people with a different culture from those found elsewhere in the Delta."[260] In addition, Samataṭa, whether by historical accident, geographical location, or cultural disparity, was not involved in the great battles that engulfed much of the rest of Eastern India during this period.

In Samataṭa, as in Magadha under Ādityasena and his successors, the arts flourished during the reign of a dynasty that, if not providing extensive direct patronage for the arts, at least provided the appropriate ambiance for the patrons and their artists. What is still more significant about the Khaḍga sculptures is the preponderance of bronze images, which stand at the head of an extensive production of bronzes in the region during subsequent times. At the Salban Vihāra at Maināmatī, more than a hundred bronzes were found, mostly datable to the eighth century; these together with the 66 bronzes of the hoard at Jhewāri in Chittagong District,[261] datable to the ninth century and later, show that Samataṭa was a highly productive center for bronze sculpture and that the art of bronze casting began to flourish here about the same time it did elsewhere in Eastern India, for example at Nālandā.

Assam

A discussion of the seventh-century monuments of Eastern India would be incomplete without consideration of the only surviving monument in Assam, ancient Kāmarūpa, that falls into the period covered by this study. That is the doorway of the temple at Dah Parbatiyā on the outskirts of Tezpur (Plates 115, 116). The work must have been made during Bhāskaravarman's epoch (c. 594–650), when Kāmarūpa was brought into the political realm of Eastern India and, as the monument indicates, the cultural realm as well.

Because the monument is provincial both in location and appearance, it is difficult to analyze. Only the stone doorway of what once must have been a brick Viṣṇu temple remains, although even its dedication is not clear. A flying Garuḍa is carved above the entrance, but in the dominant central candraśālā of the uppermost lintel is a club-bearing Śiva, commonly identified as Lakulīśa, while Sūrya and Viṣṇu occupy somewhat smaller candraśālās to the left and right. The doorway is customarily considered a work of Gupta art,[262] no doubt because its format conforms to the standard pattern of Gupta doorways: One or two bands of floral motif, a band of panels carrying amorous couples, and an outer floral band. But here the motifs are repetitive and two-dimensional, entirely lacking the richness of carving that we see in Gupta sculpture.

How, then, is it possible to reconcile the Gupta format of the overall doorway with the style of its decor? In part, the answer is that the format was not restricted to the Gupta age. It persisted well into the seventh century, as may be seen on the south entrance, that is, the main entrance, of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple. But even there, alterations of the standard Gupta configuration may be seen, as they are also on the Dah Parbatiyā doorway. The panels carved with amorous couples on Gupta doorways carry single figures on the doorways of both these temples; also, the female figures at the base of the Dah Parbatiyā doorway, presumably representing Gaṅgā and Jamunā, are unusually large and thus assume a dominant position not accorded the river goddesses before the seventh century.[263] The planar treatment of the decorative motifs is entirely different from the Gupta style and its persistent echo in Eastern India, but it is characteristic of the decor on some Orissan temples of the seventh and eighth centuries, for example the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara, though there the design is vital and rhythmic in spite of its two-dimensionality. The static, repetitive quality of the Dah Parbatiyā doorway decor may be explained more by the provincial nature of Kāmarūpa than by any chronological factor.

The elongated, gracefully posed females, with geese pecking at the haloes behind the head, hold garlands, an uncommon feature for the river goddesses that is, however, shared with at least one Orissan example.[264] The modeling of the bodies yields a rather stark form, with little trace of the subtle figure style seen elsewhere in Eastern India at this time. The strongly oval heads, the treatment of the facial features, and even the expression is quite different from the

style in other parts of Eastern India, but it is distinctive to Assam and prefigures the appearance of the ninth-century images from Deopāṇi, further east in Sibsagar District.[265] It is understandable that Banerji, who first studied the river goddesses of the Dah Parbatiyā doorway, thought that he recognized in their form a style related to the Gupta style of Sārnāth and thus grouped them with what he called the Pāṭaliputra School of the Gupta period.[266] But the affinity is distant at best and transformed by an artist who was removed in both time and location from that style, which he may have known only from its successors in Eastern India.

Summary

In spite of expectations, the remains of the Gupta period are sparse in Eastern India, while those of the next century and a half, covered by this chapter, are sufficiently abundant to present a coherent picture of the evolving styles. Especially significant in this regard is the contrast between the Sārnāth-inspired forms of the Rājgir-Nālandā area and what might best be considered the more characteristic Magadhan style of the Gayā area, as it indicates the importance of essentially local trends within Eastern India at this time. At Nālandā, the stucco sculptures of the Great Stūpa (Plates 68–71) show even more clearly than the earlier stucco images of the Maṇiyār Maṭh at Rājgir (Plates 18–20) the dependence of artists in the area on Sārnāth prototypes. The slightly later stone panels of the temple plinth at Site No. 2 (Plates 73–75) are less evidently modeled on Sārnāth imagery, although at Sārnāth we lack architectural sculptures of a comparable sort. All the Nālandā sculpture remaining from this time is architectural adornment and provides testimony to a major building effort. The reason for this development of the monastery is unrecorded at the site, as is the source of patronage. But Hsuan Tsang credits Harṣa as the benefactor of work in progress, and there is good reason to believe that this king did play a major role in Nālandā's development. Harṣa became the rule of Magadha after the great struggle for authority over Eastern India, and it is hard to imagine anyone else with sufficient wealth to support this major construction at Nālandā. Moreover, it is not difficult to see the political benefits that would accrue from such patronage, as Harṣa was essentially an alien king who only recently had extended his authority over Magadha.

The remaining sculpture of Bodhgayā from this time (Plates 60–63), evolving from the more massive Mathurā-inspired imagery of the Gupta period, provides a distinct contrast with the Nālandā sculptures. This is true of other sculptures in the area as well, for example the Indrāṇī from Amānwā (Plate 64) and the Viṣṇu from Koṅch (Plate 65), which are the earliest known Brahmanical images from the Gayā area. They, too, reflect the heavy-set character of Mathurā sculpture, although it is not possible to identify specific prototypes at Mathurā for these figures. The continuity of styles that we can now observe suggests groups of artists who remained within relatively confined areas. The limited movement of the artists does not mean that all the sculptures of an area are the product of a single workshop, but rather that interaction among workshops did not readily take place over great distances. Furthermore, we may postulate that if new artists came into an area, they must have quickly adopted the local style, since we see no clear evidence of stylistic intrusions as we do during the next century at both Nālandā and Bodhgayā.

Although by this time Shāhābād District was at least politically part of Magadha, its art remained distinct. The evidence is based only on the monuments of Muṇḍeśvarī Hill (Plates 42–59), the sole remains of this period known from Shāhābād District, but it is corroborated by images of other sites in the district dating to the next century. The Muṇḍeśvarī temple shows well the distinct nature of art in Shāhābād District, as nowhere else in Eastern India does a stone temple so closely follow the forms of architecture to the west. For monuments elsewhere in Eastern India, brick was the favored building medium, and these brick monuments appear far more severe, with few of the richly varied mouldings of temples built at sites to the west. The River Son presented a powerful natural boundary between Shāhābād District and the rest of Eastern India, so that in spite of its political integration with Magadha, the area was not brought into the Magadhan cultural realm. That integration, in fact, was never fully accomplished, as the next chapter will show.

Elsewhere, styles confined to limited areas are difficult to identify, but it is noteworthy that the findspots of remains from this time are generally located in areas of long-standing artistic activity. For example, the sites of Aphsaḍ, Maruī, and Mahrāwāṅ are located close to Devangarh, where three Gupta-period statues (Plates 8–10) had been found. At these sites and several others located just east of the modern town of Nawādā, artistic activity continued after the seventh century, yet no natural boundaries are present that might confine artists to this area. Similarly, Sultānganj, which yielded the large bronze Buddha of the seventh century (Plates 96, 97), was the site of earlier sculptures carved on Jahāngīra Rock (Plates 30, 31), and nearby Gupta-period remains were found at Shāhkuṇḍ and Pātharghāṭā (Plates 32–35). Subsequently more extensive work embellished the surface of Jahāngīra Rock, and the great Vikramaśīla monastery was established close to Pātharghāṭā (Plates 196–199, 209–214). In Bengal, as before, the remains are very few and widely scattered. But in Southeast Bengal considerable activity took place at Maināmatī, setting the stage for further and very important developments there during the next century.

Local developments such as those sketched above are

stressed by the geographical divisions within chapters of this book, but the chronological divisions between chapters are more a matter of convenience. In fact, they may be misleading and imply, for example, a coherent group of monuments that might be called Gupta and another distinct group confined to a following period. That, of course, is not the case. Times of greater and lesser productivity may have occurred, but there was a continuous production of works of art and an ongoing evolution of style.

In general the imagery of the period shows a gradual abandonment of the Gupta sensitivity to form and the development of stylizations based on Gupta norms. Such sculptures as the Sūrya built into the west doorway of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Plate 49), the Indrāṇī from Amānwā (Plate 64), the Viṣṇu from Koṅch (Plate 65), and the Buddha dedicated by General Malluka (Plate 63) are among the figures with strongest traces of the soft modeling and well-proportioned bodies associated with the Gupta style. Hence, they most likely can be assigned to the half century following the last Gupta king, that is, c. 550–600. Somewhat more harshly modeled and awkwardly proportioned are the Muṇḍeśvarī figures that form the middle group from that site (Plates 51–54), those essentially contemporary with the temple, that is, c. 636. The Kāśipur Sūrya (Plate 105) also may be assigned to the first half of the seventh century. Among Buddhist sculptures, the stucco images of the Great Stūpa at Nālandā fall about this same time, a distinct distance from their late fifth-century prototypes at Sārnāth but not quite so formalized as the stone Buddha image from Tetrāwāṅ (Plate 78), which is better ascribed to the second half of the seventh century.

For the second half of the seventh century, unlike the first half, we have dated sculptures that are important touchstones for determining the dates of other works. Most securely dated is the image of Sarvāṇī inscribed in Devakhaḍga's time (Plate 113), but also important are the sculptures from Aphsaḍ which at least tentatively may be associated with the time of Ādityasena. Among these the Viṣṇu illustrated in Plate 88 best serves as a point of comparison for other sculptures. Some of the works ascribed to this time show only tangential similarities to the dated images and may be better dated by their position in the overall development. Among such sculptures are the animated images of the plinth at Nālandā Site No. 2 (Plates 73–75). Though rather different from the dated monuments of the second half of the seventh century, these reliefs anticipate the terracotta panels on the great monuments of Dharmapāla's time at Vikramaśīla and Pāhārpur (Plates 210–214, 216–219) and also resemble the late group of Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures (Plates 57–59).

The assignment of dates to the monuments, even general dates as I have suggested, naturally raises questions about the sources of patronage. It might also lead us to look into the artists themselves, but as we have little concrete information about artists in ancient India, that direction would be fruitless.

At the outset of this chapter I suggested that relatively little artistic activity existed during the period of struggle for dominance in Eastern India, c. 600–630. It was during the following seventy years that funds again were lavished on religious endowments. The Muṇḍeśvarī temple was constructed around 636, after the struggle. Nālandā, Hsuan Tsang testifies, received support from Harṣavardhana; that must have been after the struggle, when he controlled Magadha. Around 675 Ādityasena's beneficence at Aphsaḍ, Shāhpur, and Mandāra Hill is attested by inscriptions, even though specific remains can be assigned to his reign only tentatively. We thus may assume that during times of peace the treasury of these kings permitted large-scale endowments of the sort most likely to be preserved for posterity.

That leaves the role of Bhāskaravarman and the Khaḍga kings. The Dah Parbatiyā doorway (Plates 115, 116) has been ascribed above to the time of Bhāskaravarman, who was actively involved in the struggle, siding with the Vardhanas and Maukharis. If I am right in assigning the sculptured doorway to his time, then it seems likely that the temple was constructed after the struggle, about the same time that Harṣa was providing funds for Nālandā. Roughly contemporary with Ādityasena, the Khaḍga kings provided funds for monuments at Maināmatī and Deulbaḍi. These kings ruled in Samataṭa, significantly untouched by the struggle that affected almost all the rest of Eastern India.

While we have evidence for royal patronage, we possess the names of few donors at this time other than monarchs. One exception is Malluka, who dedicated a Buddha image at Bodhgayā (Plate 63). But at the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment, we have a long-standing and inexplicable lack of evidence for royal support.[267] Elsewhere in Eastern India, proof is available for royal patronage not only in literature and large inscriptions but also on rather small, isolated images such as the Shāhpur Sūrya and the Deulbāḍī Sarvāṇī. Hence, it appears that primarily royal dedications were recorded and that future discoveries will not turn up a significant number of monuments from this time associated with donors other than the king. Other patrons — it is safe to assume that there *were* non-royal patrons — simply did not record their names or did so only rarely.

Finally, we may ask whether the records of royal patronage properly lead us to imagine a spate of activity during a period of generous endowments followed by relatively little activity during lean years. The answer, it seems, is yes. Conversely, we may ask whether we would find evidence for a more even production of imagery if the uninscribed monuments actually bore dates, and we did not have to draw inferences based on style. Probably not, as the evidence in Bengal suggests. There, all the major royal donative inscrip-

tions of the seventh century have been found in the area that comprised ancient Samataṭa, the area where the Bengali monuments at this time were concentrated. Elsewhere in Bengal, where we have no evidence of royal endowments, only two sculptures may be ascribed to the seventh century, the Kāśipur Sūrya and the Deorā Sūrya. So at least in Bengal, there seems to be a correlation between inscriptional evidence for patronage and actual productivity. If that is the case, it seems reasonable to assume that elsewhere as well, the greatest production took place during the times for which we have donative inscriptions, probably near the places these inscriptions have been found. Thus in the next chapter we ascribe to Dharmapāla's time a great number of monuments, many more than were made during the time of any earlier Eastern Indian monarch.

CHAPTER 4

Bridge to Pāla Art (c. 700-800)

Historical Introduction

At the beginning of the eighth century, the Later Guptas still ruled Magadha and probably parts of Bengal also, although the history of Bengal remains obscure until the establishment of Pāla rule about the middle of the eighth century. Jīvitagupta II (c. 715–725), last of the Magadha Gupta kings, is best known from an inscription at Deo Baruṇārk in Shāhābād District.[1] Issued from a victorious camp, the record guarantees the continuation of an endowment that his predecessors had established. At this time Jīvitagupta was probably on his way to battle against Yaśovarman, the mighty king ruling from Kanauj.[2] Like the Maukharis ruling from the same city a century earlier, Yaśovarman also brought an end to Later Gupta supremacy in Magadha, this time forever, and once again thrust the region into historical obscurity, until the rise of the Pālas a half century later.[3]

Some have inferred Yaśovarman's rule over Magadha and Gauḍa, that is, the territory that Jīvitagupta II had ruled, from an inscription of Mālāda, the son of Yaśovarman's minister, that was found at Nālandā.[4] However, it provides no such evidence. Only recording a religious endowment, the inscription yields no proof of Yaśovarman's authority in the area, and no other evidence indicates his rule there. More likely, no central authority commanded a large portion of Eastern India during the years following Jīvitagupta's reign, for according to an inscription of Dharmapāla's time, it was an epoch of *matsyanyāya*, of big fish devouring the smaller ones.[5]

From this apparent anarchy or leadership vacuum, popular acclaim of one sort or another elevated Gopāla, apparently originally a monarch from Gauḍa,[6] to authority over Magadha and Gauḍa. In short, he inherited the territory that earlier had been united by the Magadha Guptas. We know nothing of his reign from contemporary documents, only from the inscriptions of his successors.

His son and successor Dharmapāla (c. 783–818) is the last monarch whose rule falls within the perspective of this study. An extraordinary king whose political and military ambition was matched by an unprecedented generosity to religious establishments, Dharmapāla emerged as the leading sovereign in North India during his age.[7] A three-way struggle for supremacy in North India among the Pālas, the Pratīhāras, and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas recalls the alliances of the early seventh century. While the sequence of events that led to Dharmapāla's ultimate victory is not certain, it seems that the Rāṣṭrakūṭa king Dhruva, having defeated the Pratīhāra Vatsarāja and forced him to flee to Rajasthan, then defeated Dharmapāla but returned to the Deccan before consolidating his new power. This left the defeated but ambitious Dharmapāla to take advantage of the vacuum by proclaiming himself paramount sovereign of North India and calling a great convocation of his contemporary kings at Kanauj.[8] It is not hard to imagine that these kings coming to Kanauj to pay homage to Dharmapāla enhanced his image enormously and his treasury as well. Although his authority over Kanauj was short-lived, he never succumbed to any other king. Responding to the Pāla monarch's success, the Pratīhāra king Nāgabhaṭa II advanced all the way eastward

to Monghyr, where he is said to have defeated Dharmapāla,[9] although that victory cannot have been of great consequence, since the Pratīhāra king's attention was quickly drawn to his southern border by advances of the Raṣṭrakūṭa monarch Govinda III. Dharmapāla thus retained unquestioned suzerainty in Bihar and Bengal.

Curiously, we find that the paradigm of the previous century is now reversed: Then during the years of the fiercest struggle and during the immediate aftermath, limited patronage was available for the expansion of religious centers; now, during a period of great turmoil, the emperor himself was responsible for the establishment of two enormous vihāras. Somapura and Vikramaśīla, and for endowments to Nālandā.[10] In addition, innumerable Brahmanical images were dedicated during this time. Thus the military effort did not fully consume the treasury. More important, Dharmapāla did not assume a defensive posture but an offensive one; therefore he clearly had a different image of his home territory and ambition for it than the Later Guptas of Magadha, whose position was hardly secure at home, much less abroad. Dharmapāla must have seen his realm as a land of peace and prosperity, appropriate for the magnificent sanctuaries that he provided for the monastic orders and for the development of other religious centers.

As before, the history of Southeast Bengal remained separate from that of the rest of Eastern India. Following the Khaḍgas, Samataṭa was ruled by a dynasty of kings whose names end in Deva.[11] In spite of the suggestion that the Devas held authority in Samataṭa during the ninth century, following the reigns of Dharmapāla and Devapāla,[12] no evidence of Pāla rule there exists before the time of Gopāla II (c. 952–969). Moreover, epigraphical considerations point to the second half of the eighth century for the rule of the four known Deva kings. As during the reign of their predecessors, building activity along the Maināmatī Hills continued, and though there is no certain evidence of direct Deva patronage, inscriptions from the Salban Vihāra imply royal support for the monuments there.

Introduction to the Art

The art of the eighth century is considerably more widespread and more abundant than the art of any earlier century in Eastern India, and so the coverage in this chapter is necessarily less comprehensive, more representative, than in previous chapters. While we partly concur with one writer who observed that art flourished as a result of the long and prosperous reign of Dharmapāla, which brought a strong and settled government to Bihar and Bengal for the first time in almost a century,[13] that prosperity alone could not account for the abundant images of this time. The change is not altogether sudden, for we have already seen during the previous century an increase in both the number and the geographic distribution of images. Moreover, the increase is not confined to Eastern India but coincides with a resurgence of artistic production all over Northern India, from Rajasthan and Gujarat in the west to Bengal in the east, from the Deccan in the south to Kashmir in the north.

Here at last well-established ruling families — the Pālas, Pratīhāras, and Raṣṭrakūṭas most notable among them — each with an identifiable core territory, culture, and artistic styles, provided the milieu in which monuments could be constructed on a scale unprecedented in the recent past. The situation was analagous to the one that prevailed during the fifth century, when the extent of building activity was comparable. But neither the declining years of Gupta rule nor the age of conflict during the seventh century provided the stability and economic prosperity required for the patronage of art, even of sacred monuments.

During this time two styles are apparent, one the final formalized outcome of post-Gupta developments, the other a highly refined new style best associated with the early Pāla period. Again an analogy may be drawn with early Gupta times, when one style reflecting the culmination of late Kuṣāṇa formalization gave way to the elegant new Gupta style. As with any innovation, the old style persisted for a period while the new one gained acceptance. That was just the case at the threshold of Pāla times.

As no dated images of the eighth century are known in Eastern India, the sculptures assigned to this time must be identified primarily with reference to images known by inscription to have been made in the first part of the ninth century. The earliest of these dates late in the reign of Dharmapāla, during his twenty-sixth year (c. 809/10), when the kingdom was securely established. This is a relief, possibly a lintel, from Bodhgayā with small figures of Lakulīśa, Sūrya and Viṣṇu.[14] Though not especially refined, these figures are still useful touchstones in determining the relative date of other images. In addition, Dharmapāla established two major vihāras, Vikramaśīla and Somapura, and their almost identical main stūpas date to this monarch's reign, though whether early or late during that forty-year period is not clear. Following are several stone and bronze images inscribed during the reign of Devapāla (c. 818–858).[15] These dated images of the ninth century stand in marked contrast to the dearth of such Eastern Indian sculptures in earlier times, when only one dated image is known after the Bodhgayā Buddha of 383/84 (Plate 11), the Sarvāṇī from Deulbāḍī of Devakhaḍga's time (Plate 113). The explanation may be simply the more common practice during early Pāla times of noting the date of an image in a dedicatory inscription, much as we see in the opening years of Kaniṣka's reign in the Kuṣāṇa period; whatever the explanation it offers little solace for the art historian, who still must arrange the chronological sequence of the images before he can draw other more important inferences.

Shāhābād District

The eighth-century remains of Shāhābād District are somewhat more widespread than those of earlier times, which had been concentrated at Chausā and Muṇḍeśvarī Hill. Located along the Gaṅgā at Buxār and Masāṛh and near the Son at Deo Baruṇārk and Deo Markaṇḍeya, the monuments of this area still are not numerous, and at no time, even during the course of the Pāla period, are they as extensive as in most other parts of Eastern India. As during earlier centuries, no Buddhist sculptures of the eighth century are known in Shāhābād District, and the stone is rarely gray or black schist, the medium favored by artists elsewhere in Eastern India. Although the style of the sculptures and architectural members is no longer as distinct from general trends of art in Eastern India as it had been previously, it maintains some affiliations with forms common to places west of Magadha, in spite of inscriptional evidence proving that Shāhābād District fell within Jīvitagupta's Magadhan realm early in the eighth century and Dharmapāla's later in the century.

At Buxār, where the Gaṅgā may have washed away the remains of other monuments, only a temple doorway (Plates 117, 118) was found preserved on the high ground of the fort. As no traces remain of any old temple at Buxār, the doorway must have framed the entrance to a brick temple, whose material is less likely than stone to withstand the ravages of both man and nature. At many places in northern India, brick temples were given stone doorways, for example at Sirpur and Nālandā and at Deo Baruṇārk and Deo Markaṇḍeya, both discussed below. The material of the doorway, a light gray stone, may be distinguished from the darker gray or black schist commonly used east of the River Son, but it represents a change from the buff stone used in the construction of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple.

In other ways as well the doorway shows that by the eighth century, when it was carved, the sculpture and architecture of Shāhābād District no longer bear primary affiliation with the art of Vārāṇasī and other places in the area corresponding essentially with Uttar Pradesh. For example, the doorway mouldings most closely anticipate those of a doorway (Plate 119) datable to about the ninth century now built into a modern shrine in the compound of the Mahābodhi temple at Bodhgayā. While the innermost two bands of the Buxār doorway are adorned with motifs commonly used during the eighth and ninth centuries in a wide area of India, the third band does not carry the customary small panels with figural sculpture. Instead, it is decorated with widely spaced floral panels, as seen also on the doorway of the Bodhgayā shrine. The outermost band carries overlapping leaves, a motif common on earlier temples, for example on the Muṇḍeśvarī temple, but more gracefully rendered there. Finally, the lintel, with three large projecting candraśālās and two reserved ones between each larger pair, though based on earlier models such as the lintel of the Deogaṛh temple,[16] corresponds more closely to the pattern of the lintel capping the contemporary gateway to the Mahābodhi temple (Plate 133) or the somewhat later doorway at Bodhgayā illustrated in Plate 119.

The mouldings of this doorway, particularly their reserved appearance by contrast to those of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple, provide one indication of its eighth-century date. The figures of the base provide another. Gaṅgā is depicted to the left and Jamunā to the right, each accompanied by an attendant and a parasol bearer. A Mālādhara hovers above against a sculptured cloud while a pair of geese below his feet carries a second garland. This grouping, except for the geese, which commonly accompany the river goddessses in Eastern India but rarely elsewhere, is often seen during the eighth and ninth centuries, for example at the Teli-kā Mandir in the Gwalior Fort and nearby at one of the Naresar temples.[17]

While an analysis of the river goddesses has led one writer to group this monument from Buxār with doorways of the late sixth and seventh century,[18] that date seems too early for the form of the figures and carving of the floral design. Hardly any trace of the rich undercutting seen in the floral motifs of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple is retained here, and the figures, in their exaggerated stance, firm modeling, and linear treatment of the surface all seem to postdate even the group of Muṇḍeśvarī sculptures assigned in the previous chapter to the late seventh century (Plates 57–59). The Gupta vestiges, perhaps surprising at this time, persist as well in the sculpture of Eastern India longer than in other parts of the subcontinent. If the Buxār doorway appears more conservative than anticipated for this time, we must keep in mind that the designers had little but monuments from Gupta times and the immediate aftermath on which to model their form.

The old course of the Gaṅgā ran by Masāṛh, nine miles south of the river's present course and six miles west of Arrah. Moving eastward along the river, Hsuan Tsang stopped there and noted that the place was populated only by non-Buddhists.[19] He probably stopped at Masāṛh because it was the juncture of a route leading northward toward the Gaṅgā, the route that Jīvitagupta followed from his victory camp at Deo Baruṇārk on his way to Kanauj. Though no remains of Hsuan Tsang's time are preserved at Masāṛh, its ancient importance is shown by several sculptures that may be assigned to the eighth century.

One of these figures is a colossal image of Viṣṇu (Plate 120) now preserved outside of the Patna Museum, probably the very image described by Cunningham as Banāsura and daily subjected to gleeful desecration by village children.[20] The figure, accompanied by personifications of the wheel and mace, is carved from buff sandstone like the other eighth-century sculptures of Masāṛh. Though so effaced that

its date is difficult to ascertain, the taut outline and absence of any trace of soft modeling associates the figure with other formalized sculptures of the eighth century, for example, the standing Viṣṇu from Aphsaḍ (Plate 195) and another from Dāpthū (Plate 190).

More significant is the square shaft, probably the base of a pillar, carved with figures of Viṣṇu, Pārvatī, Sūrya, and Gaṇeśa on the four sides, each standing in a niche beneath a large candraśālā (Plate 121). These are the four figures customarily carved on the so-called Pañcāyatana liṅgas of Bihar and appear in just this order on the shaft standing in front of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple (Plate 123). There the form is less embellished, since the shaft is earlier, but the arrangement corresponds to that of the contemporary pillar at Deo Baruṇārk (Plates 125, 126), only 33 miles away, whose figures at the base also stand in niches flanked by pilasters supporting a crowning candraśālā. They are probably the same four deities.[21] One other point in common with the shaft at Deo Baruṇārk is the presence of images of the eight Grahas, here carved above the niche with Pārvatī but at Deo Baruṇārk distributed on the eight facets above the square portion of the column.

The capital now standing a few feet away, also carved with images on each of the four sides (Plate 122), probably surmounted the base just discussed. Unlike those on the Deo Baruṇārk pillar, the four figures of the capital do not represent the guardians of the directions but rather a seated four-armed Pārvatī holding the same attributes as the image of this deity from Muṇḍeśvarī (Plate 59), Brahmā, and two forms of Śiva, Vīṇādhara-Dakṣināmūrti and Yoga-Dakṣināmūrti. Thus the whole pillar would have been an appropriate dhvajasthambha for a temple of Śiva. This also must have been the function of the earlier shaft at Muṇḍeśvarī, though the upper portion is missing, and the contemporary one at Deo Baruṇārk. The type is exclusive to Shāhābād District. It is not difficult to imagine a great temple of Śiva here at Masāṛh and another to accommodate the enormous image of Viṣṇu. A temple of Sūrya as well would not be surprising, although the only remaining image of the Sun God there is small and dates to the tenth century.[22]

During the eight century, artists were active at two other sites in Shāhābād District, both close to the River Son. Evidence for their work at Deo Baruṇārk, the earlier and more northerly of the two, comes from the only known inscription of the Later Gupta king Jīvitagupta II, a dedicatory record incised on a pillar that once supported the maṇḍapa of a temple.[23] Activity at Deo Markaṇḍeya seems to have begun nearer the beginning of the ninth century.

Deo Baruṇārk, located about 27 miles southeast of Arrah, was an important place on a route connecting Magadha with the Gaṅgā. Its importance is implied by Jīvitagupta's inscription, issued from a victorious camp situated near a fort surely strategically located. The route passed south paralleling the Son through Deo Markaṇḍeya until it intersected the major east-west highway corresponding with the modern Grand Trunk Road. This route is of considerable antiquity, as Aśoka's rock inscription at Sasarām must have been placed at the intersection of the road leading from his capital south through Deo Baruṇārk and Deo Markaṇḍeya with the highway leading westward to Vārāṇasī. Not far west of the intersection, this route passed close to Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, the site of the early seventh-century temple whose stylistic links with monuments in the vicinity of Vārāṇasī were apparent.[24]

Most of the monuments at Deo Baruṇārk are located on a large plinth. Two brick temples, both oriented toward the east, are still standing, though entirely devoid of sculptural decoration, and during the late nineteenth century the foundations of several other temples were visible on this plinth.[25] The buff sandstone pillar bearing Jīvitagupta's inscription (Plate 124) was apparently one of four, all still remaining at the site, which supported the roof of a maṇḍapa in front of the southern brick temple. Only the upper half of the pillar is today exposed above the ground. Although its basic divisions and motifs are based on Gupta models known from many sites, for example Kauśāmbī[26] and Deogaṛh,[27] the decor is somewhat more reserved, less richly undercut, and seems to follow a pattern characteristic of this time, seen for example on the uprights of the Bodhgayā toraṇa (Plate 133).

Most of the sculptures of the site, except those enshrined in the temples, are now placed along the south side of the raised platform and in a sculpture shed on the southeast corner of it. In addition, a sculptured buff sandstone pillar (Plates 125, 126) probably once serving as a dhvajastambha but signifiicantly conveying directional symbolism of the sort implied by the wheels and animals on the abacus of Aśoka's pillar at Sārnāth,[28] stands to the east of the plinth, about half way to the huge depression in the ground that evidently marks the location of the ancient temple tank. It is a poignant monument and an appropriate dedication for a king who had returned victorious from battle. The tall pillar, 105 inches high in Cunningham's time, when the full monolith was exposed, is probably in its original location, as the guardians of the cardinal directions carved at the top are properly oriented. Here it could have been a herald for all the shrines on the plinth. Around the shaft of the pillar, on the octagonal portion, are the eight Grahas or planets customarily personified at this time.[29] They may be identified largely from the very evident figure of Rahu, although the other seven show no distinguishing features. The four figures at the base of the pillar that Cunningham identified as Śiva, Pārvatī, Bhairava, and Gaṇeśa[30] are today beneath the ground. There can be no doubt about his identification of Gaṇeśa and Pārvatī because they are commonly paired on such shafts, but his identification of the other two seems less likely. Elsewhere, even as close as Masāṛh and Muṇḍeśvarī

Hill, we find figures of Gaṇeśa, Pārvatī, Sūrya, and Viṣṇu on four sides of a shaft, and so it seems more likely that the images he identified as Śiva and Bhairava represent Viṣṇu and Sūrya.[31] Whatever the specific figures, the Śaiva character of the pillar seems apparent. Thus while Jīvitagupta's inscription proclaims the dedication of a Sūrya temple, this pillar and abundant sculptures at the site suggest that the second large temple was dedicated to Śiva.

The surviving sculptures are predominantly Śaiva or Saura, the only Vaiṣṇava images being a small Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu on a fragment of a door lintel and two standing images of Viṣṇu dating to the later part of the ninth century now enshrined in one of the brick temples. Many of the Sūrya images, exemplified by the ones illustrated in Plates 127–129 are contemporary with Jīvitagupta's dedication and generally appear to be earlier than the Śaiva images of this site, thereby supporting the widely held presumption that the shrine of Varuṇasvāmi, whose dedication his inscription records, was a shrine of Sūrya.[32] These images all show a round halo behind the head and the space between the main figure and the attendants cut away much in the manner of contemporary Vaiṣṇava images of Magadha, such as the Koṅch Viṣṇu (Plate 159). Later a solid backslab rounded at the top was favored in Magadha. All these Sūrya images hold bunches of flowers in each hand like the two Muṇḍeśvarī images of the Sun God (Plates 49 and 57) and most other Sūrya images of the seventh century, but not the two frontal lotus flowers held almost consistently after the time of Dharmapāla. Their lower garments include boots and the customary long skirt, here pulled taut against the body to reveal the legs beneath, as seen on the late seventh-century image from Muṇḍeśvarī. Instead of the single strand necklace favored since Gupta times, they all wear a slender second strand against the beaded one. Two of the figures wear a yajñopavīta, a feature adopted for images of Sūrya during the eighth century but not commonly worn until the following century, while the third (Plate 129), a less refined piece, bears a large *śrīvatsa* on the chest.

Although the three images are still made of buff sandstone, maintaining the medium favored earlier in Shāhābād District, they now show few stylistic links with sculpture west of Magadha and instead reveal a closer relationship with the general Magadha style. This relationship may be seen in a comparison of these Sūrya images, especially the figure illustrated in Plate 128, with the Viṣṇu from Koṅch (Plate 159), only 40 miles due east across the River Son. The maintenance of older Shāhābād traditions, most notably the use of buff sandstone for all three images, suggests that Jīvitagupta relied upon local artists, not craftsmen from the heartland of Magadha; but these artists, unlike their predecessors in Shāhābād District, now looked toward the increasingly active centers in the area corresponding with modern Patna and Gayā Districts for their inspiration rather than toward the area around Vārāṇasī, where artists became less inventive and prolific.

The Śaiva images (Plates 130, 131) mostly date to the opening years of the ninth century, apparently a period of renewed activity at the site, although no records indicate the source of patronage for these new dedications. However, the activity corresponds with the great surge of dedications at Brahmanical sites over a wide area of northern India. Here at Deo Baruṇārk, Śiva's consort must have been of special importance, for he is almost invariably accompanied by Pārvatī mounted on her lion *vāhana*, and several separate images of a four-armed Pārvatī are seated on her vehicle. These later sculptures are all more extensively ornamented, both on the figure's body and on the backslabs, in close anticipation of the profusely decorated images from Devapāla's time. They generally are more elongated and graceful figures than those dating to the earlier part of the eighth century. In addition, they are all carved from gray schist, long used as the almost exclusive medium at sites east of the River Son.

In some details, for example the pearled rope border around the backslab of the image illustrated in Plate 131, these sculptures bear a striking resemblance to sculptures from sites east of the River Son, particularly in adjacent Gayā District.[33] This similarity raises the question whether the images themselves could have been imported or whether the artists crossed the river from Gayā District. As the stone itself did not originate in Shāhābād District but rather most likely in Gayā District, it is not impossible that large stone works were transported from the neighboring area. The theory becomes all the more plausible when we recognize that hardly any stone sculptures dating later than the ninth century are known in Shāhābād District, so there is no evidence of ongoing sculptural production in the area. It seems more likely, however, that sculptors actually came to the site together with the *sthapatis*, that is the architects, and other craftsmen who were required for the construction of the temples intended to enshrine the images. These sculptors must have stayed at Deo Baruṇārk for a relatively short time, just the few generations that span the time from Jīvitagupta, when the earliest known temple at the site was established, to the time of these Śiva images.

The remaining sculptures of Deo Markaṇḍeya present much the same problem. Deo Markaṇḍeya is the second site paralleling the Son where images were established before Devapāla's time, located just twelve miles due south of Deo Baruṇārk. In the nineteenth century two brick temples stood in the village, one of which enshrined images,[34] but today the images are confined to two secure modern temples, although Śiva liṅgas stand at several places in the village. The images are predominantly Vaiṣṇava, quite the contrary of the images at Deo Baruṇārk, with a few images of Sūrya and Brahmā but no Śaiva images except the liṅgas. These

sculptures are all carved from black stone and mostly date to the opening years of the ninth century, contemporary with the later group at Deo Baruṇārk.

As all the sculptures at Deo Markaṇḍeya seem to have been carved during a relatively short time, the site was probably developed quite quickly, although it is difficult to trace the origin of the artists or their movements following their work at Deo Markaṇḍeya. The Viṣṇu sculptures at the site have no evident precedents in Shāhābād District. Neither at Muṇḍeśvarī nor in the earlier group of sculptures at Deo Baruṇārk are there Vaiṣṇava sculptures, while at Masāṛh the colossal Viṣṇu (Plate 120) is so effaced that it cannot be easily identified as earlier in date and so a possible precedent for the Deo Markaṇḍeya sculptures. The sources for these sculptures may have to be sought outside of Shāhābād District.

All of the Viṣṇu images of the site follow the pattern of one of the finest (Plate 132). They stand against a backslab adorned only with a pair of flying figures but with neither a halo nor the members of the throne we customarily see on the backslab from the middle of the ninth century onward. Although the hands holding the wheel and mace are held above the shoulders, not pointing downward as they are in the case of most other images of Viṣṇu dating before the reign of Devapāla, that pose should not necessarily be taken as an indication of the figure's late date, as some Viṣṇu images dating much earlier, for example one from Koṅch (Plate 65), hold the weapons above the shoulders. The personifications of these weapons are still depicted beneath the hands bearing the actual attributes; by the tenth century, the personifications are generally replaced by images of Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. Neither is the ornament excessive nor, as common during the ninth century and later, does any pattern appear between the striations marking folds on the lower garment. Finally the shape of the face and treatment of the features show an apparent similarity to the enormous image of Lokanātha from Nālandā (Plate 162), probably datable to the late eighth century.

Other Viṣṇu images at Deo Markaṇḍeya, though products of different artists, are almost identical in details of iconography and ornament. For example, a second Viṣṇu (Plate 133) shows the same treatment of the backslab with flying figures at the top and the personifications of the wheel and mace at the bottom beneath their respective attributes. The adornments of the figure, including the large spade-shaped pendant suspended from the girdle by a beaded chain, are all shared by the several Viṣṇu images of the site. The lower garment is marked with the closely spaced striations seen also on the late seventh-century figures of Muṇḍeśvarī Hill.

As most of the images of Deo Markaṇḍeya are close in style, the temples there must have been constructed and provided with sculptures during a relatively brief time. Hence here, as at several other places, we are led to wonder about the origin of the images. Were they made elsewhere and brought into Deo Markaṇḍeya, or did the artists actually come to the site and depart on completion of their work? The question cannot be answered, although as is the case at Deo Baruṇārk, it is likely that artists came to the site when the temples were constructed. We can be sure that they did not stay long at Deo Markaṇḍeya, as the remains there show no indication of later work. Thus it seems probable that these artists were itinerant, staying at one place only long enough to complete a particular project. However, as the style now indicates a cultural affinity with the rest of Eastern India, rather than with the central part of the subcontinent as had been true previously, there is no reason to assume that the artists remained west of the River Son. They could have accepted commissions almost anywhere else in Magadha.[35]

This cultural integration of Shāhābād District with the rest of Eastern India represents a distinct change from the previous situation. Earlier, the artists of the fourth-century Chausā bronzes modeled their figures on Kuṣāṇa prototypes from Mathurā, whereas the artists of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple and its sculpture looked toward the Vārāṇasī region as the primary source of inspiration. Now, however, at the threshold of Pāla times, inspiration was derived largely from Magadha. This may be seen not only in the style of architectural members such as the Buxār doorway and the style of sculptures from Masāṛh, Deo Baruṇārk, and Deo Markaṇḍeya, but also in the adoption of gray or black schist, the common medium of Eastern Indian stone art. Whatever stimulated the change is difficult to determine, whether a simple switch in regional identity, the increasing importance of the workshops elsewhere in Eastern India, or the declining influence of workshops near Vārāṇasī. However, the change is demonstrable and even extended beyond the western border of Shāhābād District, for during the ninth century artists working for both Buddhist and Brahmanical patrons in the eastern part of modern Uttar Pradesh, for example at Vārāṇasī and at several sites in Gorakhpur District, used dark gray schist for their images.[36] The use of this medium indicates the expanding influence of Eastern India under the newly established Pāla dynasty. By the middle of the ninth century, the Pāla realm expanded west of the modern border between Bihar and Uttar Pradesh,[37] but it expanded to include an area that was already culturally linked with Eastern India.

By Pāla times, only one feature continued to distinguish the art of Shāhābād District from the art of other parts of Eastern India, that is, its exclusively Brahmanical character. Seventy-five years ago Theodor Bloch observed quite accurately that as one crosses the River Son into Shāhābād District, not a single Buddhist image may be seen.[38] As it was surely much more than a day's journey from Bodhgayā or Pāṭaliputra to Sārnāth, and any sensible route must have passed through Shāhābād District, we cannot conclude that

the region was hostile to Buddhists. Instead, it seems likely that here, as in the region corresponding with the Nawādā subdivision of Gayā District, no Buddhist monastery existed, and the artists worked primarily, probably even exclusively, for Hindu patrons.

Gayā Area

The site of the Buddha's Enlightenment, Bodhgayā, was enhanced by new Buddhist images during the eighth century and the opening years of the ninth century, through Dharmapāla's reign. But now Brahmanical activity is witnessed for the first time at this site, and in the environs abundant Brahmanical sculptures were made. While we cannot be sure that the precise modern findspot of objects represents their original place of installation, the number of Hindu images found close to the Mahābodhi temple leaves little doubt about the activity of Hindu worshippers in the area: A relief with images of Sūrya, Lakulīśa, and Viṣṇu bearing an inscription dated in the twenty-sixth year of Dharmapāla's reign, and recording the dedication of an image of Mahādeva, was found a few yards from the temple entrance; an image of Sūrya was found within the temple precinct; and several images of the eighth century remain today in the village of Bakraur and at the adjacent Dharmāraṇya, only two miles from Bodhgayā. The appearance of these images corresponds with the earliest remaining images at the sacred Hindu pilgrimage center of Gayā, just six miles to the north.

These images should not suggest that any sectarian rivalry existed between the Buddhists and Hindus or that support diminished for the sacred site of the Buddha's Enlightenment. Evidence to the contrary may be seen in the form of several stone Buddha images of the eighth century from Bodhgayā and many more from subsequent times, as well as a restoration of the Mahābodhi temple about the tenth century by the application of fresh stucco and new stucco images.

In addition to a newly erected great gateway before the Mahābodhi temple, the Buddhist art of Bodhgayā at this time includes three small Buddha images seated in *padmāsana*, two much larger images seated in *pralambapadāsana*, a life-size standing image of the Buddha, and only one Bodhisattva image. While the emphasis on images of the Buddha probably reflects the importance of this site to the historical Buddha, the dearth of Bodhisattva images by contrast to Nālandā, is notable, and raises questions about the orientation of the monks who dwelled there.

The great toraṇa (Plates 134, 135) erected in front of the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple was thought by Cunningham, who discovered the members and reconstructed this gateway in its original location, to date to the Gupta period;[39] however, it is surely a product of the eighth century. Nowhere can we see the exuberant lushness of the Gupta pillar style, known from innumerable temples in the area now comprising Madhya Pradesh and Uttar Pradesh and from the Rājaona pillars in Eastern India. Here, as on the Deo Baruṇārk pillars of Jīvitagupta's time (Plate 124), a reserve is apparent, both in the comparatively large undecorated areas and in the ornament, carved with great finesse but none of the rich undercutting that on earlier pillars creates a vibrant play of light and shadow over the surface. A comparison with such examples as the Deo Baruṇārk pillars and the Buxār doorway suggests an eighth-century date. Other members at the site, for instance the pillars now installed in the maṇḍapa of a small shrine within the compound of the Mahābodhi temple, also date to the same time, indicating a period of architectural development; however, neither inscriptional nor literary evidence gives a clue to the patron or the events surrounding the dedication of the gateway and the contemporary building activity. Still, one cannot help but wonder whether the Buddhist king Dharmapāla, a patron of several other important sites, provided these additions. Like the toraṇas of early stūpa architecture, this gateway marked the point of transition from the mundane world outside to the sacred precincts of the shrine. As the Chinese pilgrims do not record observing a toraṇa in front of the temple, it seems likely that this was an innovation of the eighth century and does not replace any earlier gateway.

The three small seated Buddha images (Plates 136–138) have in common a vestige of the Mathurā style, which lent far greater inspiration to the art of Bodhgayā than to other places in Eastern India, but only a final trace of Gupta grace is apparent. In its place, the formalizations encountered with increasing frequency are readily apparent in all three sculptures. The figure now placed in the great candraśālā above the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple (Plate 136) is seated on a full-blown lotus, the right hand appropriately lowered in bhūmisparśa mudrā. Devotees, probably the donor and his family, kneel in worship on the square base below the lotus flower. Such figures have not been seen previously on the images of Eastern India but are commonly depicted on the bases of Pāla images.[40] The backslab resembles that of the earlier Tetrāwāṅ image (Plate 78), but here on each side of the juncture of the square backslab and circular halo, a much taller, more elaborate floriate motif, curiously different on each side, has been carved. The face retains little of the delicacy that characterized the countenance of earlier images, and the figure is endowed with a distinctive roll of flesh beneath the navel as commonly seen on earlier Nālandā figures, indicating the expanding influence of Nālandā.

A seated Buddha now in the Naradah Museum, Nawādā (Plate 137), also with the hand in bhūmisparśa mudrā, as well may be related to the Tetrāwāṅ image of the previous century. Its extremely massive form, however, clearly as-

sociates the figure with the older Mathurā-influenced images at the site such as the Buddha of 383/84 A.D. (Plate 11). The figure retains some polish, also apparent on the Tetrāwāṅ image and on some contemporary figures of the Bodhgayā area, perhaps in imitation of the lustrous finish of metal images, which were made in some abundance at this time, though apparently not at Bodhgayā.[41] The facial features also derive from those of such figures as the Tetrāwāṅ Buddha but here without the graceful flowing lines. An inscription on the base of the sculpture, the Buddhist creed in a single line, is carved in characters that can be dated no later than the end of the eighth century.

The provenance of a third seated Buddha (Plate 138), now in the Victoria and Albert Museum, is not documented, but museum records show that it probably came from Bodhgayā, a likely source in light of the figure's form. The massive proportions of the body and the broad, heavy head, the garment exposing the right shoulder, and the simple rounded base are all features common to the Buddha images of this site. In date too this Buddha image may be grouped with the two just discussed, the one above the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple and the one in the Naradah Museum. For all three of these sculptures, the Buddha image dedicated by the General Malluka (Plate 63) is a clear and very close prototype, although by contrast these figures show relatively broad squared shoulders and a stiff pose, which indicate a later date, about the time of a Buddha image from Tetrāwāṅ (Plate 180) assigned to the eighth century.

The two Bodhgayā Buddha images seated in pralambapadāsana, the so-called European pose (Plates 139 and 140), probably are based on prototypes at Nālandā such as the stucco image of the Great Stūpa (Plate 69). No earlier image of this type has been found at Bodhgayā, and none at Mathurā, which at least during the Gupta period lent considerable impetus to the art of Bodhgayā. Although pralambapadāsana Buddha images are common at the rock-cut sanctuaries of the Deccan,[42] it seems most likely that such figures were introduced to Eastern India from Sārnāth,[43] whose sculpture served as the primary model for much of the early imagery at Nālandā. Then during the eighth century, when sculptural forms began to transcend essentially localized styles and thus to bring about the development of a pan-regional style in Eastern India, figures in this pose must have been adopted from models at Nālandā. The transmission of such forms was no doubt facilitated by relatively portable bronze images, which were made in abundance at Nālandā during this time.[44]

Both these life-size sculptures from Bodhgayā, like their Nālandā prototype but unlike any previous Buddha image at Bodhgayā, have parallel lines to show garment folds. These figures are heavy-set in the Bodghayā manner, without any of the elegance of the earlier Nālandā statue, and the limbs of these figures are awkward, no doubt because no local models for figures of this type are available. The mouth of each figure is drawn into a smile, reflecting the expression of the Nālandā prototype. A curious point, perhaps a precursor of the flame, projects from the *uṣṇīṣa*.[45] One of the figures (Plate 139), now in the Bodhgayā Mahant's Compound, is abraded, but the other (Plate 140), now in the Gayā Museum, shows the polish often used for the sculptures of Bodhgayā at this time.

A third figure that provides evidence for the impact of the Nālandā style on the art of Bodhgayā at the threshhold of Pāla times is a standing Buddha (Plate 141) now placed in a niche to the right of the entrance of the Mahābodhi temple. The ābhaṅga pose, gentle modeling of the surface, and distinctive drooping roll of flesh beneath the navel all indicate that the Nālandā style was the immediate source for this figure's appearance, although it is somewhat more heavy-set, in keeping with the fashion at Bodhgayā, and reveals features that suggest a date later than the Sārnāth-influenced stucco statues of the Nālandā stūpa. For example, the pose lacks all traces of the graceful elegance still seen in the Nālandā stucco images and the Sultānganj bronze Buddha; it is instead a close forerunner of the pose of the bronze Balarāma from Kurkihār inscribed in the year 9 of Devapāla's reign, c. 826/27 A.D. (Plate 178). Also, the loose end of the garment clenched in the left hand is raised to shoulder level, as we see often during the Pāla period but almost never earlier in this part of India, and parallel lines to show garment folds are used where the *saṁghati* does not cling to the body, a feature whose origin may be traced to the stucco images of the Nālandā stūpa.

Finally, among the Bodhgayā Buddhist sculptures of this period, though surely near the very end of it, is a four-armed Padmapāṇi (Plate 142) now preserved in the Bodhgayā Site Museum. There seems to have been a preference for four-armed images of Padmapāṇi in the region of Gayā. Several others were found among the Kurkihār bronzes, but elsewhere in Magadha, for example at Nālandā, two-armed images of this Bodhisattva are far more common. Perhaps more significant than either its stylistic or iconographic features, this figure is one of the rare Bodhisattvas of Bodhgayā from any period and the only one that dates before the time of Devapāla. We would expect, of course, to see the Buddha emphasized in the sculptural art of Bodhgayā, as Bodhgayā was the site of his Enlightenment, but at other sites associated with the momentous events of his life, for example Sārnāth, the site of his First Sermon, Bodhisattva images dating as early as the fifth century are well known.[46] The strong Ceylonese presence at Bodhgayā, attested by literary and inscriptional evidence, may be a more likely explanation for the curious dearth of Bodhisattva images, for though there is evidence proving adherents of Vajrayāna in Ceylon,[47] less esoteric schools were more common there, at least through the eighth century.[48] Hsuan Tsang, who,

incidentally, observed images of Avalokiteśvara and Maitreya at Bodhgayā, noted that the Mahābodhi Vihāra, built by a king of Ceylon, had 1,000 priests who were Mahāyānists belonging to the Sthavira School but who were perfect in their Vinaya observances.[49] That is, these adherents of the Sthavira School were Mahāyānists who were as faithful in observance of the Vinaya rules as Theravāda monks would be.[50] This interpretation suggests the conservative character of the monks of Bodhgayā.

Elsewhere in the vicinity of Bodhgayā, Buddhist images of the period are relatively rare, although from the time of Devapāla onward, they are found abundantly and at many sites. To an extent Kurkihār, 14 miles east of Gayā, is an exception, although even there the vast majority of images date to the time of Devapāla and later. Among these is the earliest dated sculpture of Kurkihār, a bronze image of Balarāma (Plate 178), cast in the ninth year of Devapāla's reign. However, a few sculptures from Kurkihār were made earlier, probably during the time of Dharmapāla, and the monastery there may be older than that.[51] At Nālandā a similar situation occurs. There we have bronze images that may be assigned on stylistic grounds to the eighth century — a great number of them in the case of this monastery — while the earliest sculpture bearing a date is also a bronze image of Balarāma cast in Devapāla's time (Plate 177).

One of the early sculptures from Kurkihār is a gilt bronze Buddha (Plate 143). It has been dated to the late seventh century,[52] but that date seems too early; it is a considerable distance from the Sultānganj Buddha and the Nālandā stucco Buddhas that we ascribe to that time. The sharply bent pose, mannered gestures, and ridged treatment of the drapery correspond more closely with Nālandā bronze sculptures of the eighth century. Since very few other bronze sculptures, and none of the surviving stone images at Kurkihār, may be assigned a date before Devapāla's time, it is natural to ask whether the bronze could have been made locally or imported from some other center such as Nālandā, where bronze casters were highly productive at this time. However, the sculpture is most likely a local product. Though drapery with broad pleats is seen on several of the contemporary Nālandā bronzes (see Plate 179) but not on the later Kurkihār bronze sculptures, the delicate features and fine proportions are quite different from the style of any Nālandā bronze sculpture, though characteristic of the Kurkihār style. Hence this sculpture and the few other Kurkihār bronzes of the eighth century suggest that one group of bronze casters, among several who settled at various centers during the eighth century, found sanctuary and long-term employment at the Kurkihār monastery.

Apart from a few Kurkihār bronzes of the eighth century, only four other Buddhist sculptures in the Gayā area outside of Bodhgayā may be identified as products of the time, while Brahmanical images are now more numerous. One of these Buddhist figures is an unusually frontal Aparājitā from Pachār Hill (Plate 144) that carries the Buddhist creed incised to the figure's left in characters almost surely antedating the inscriptions of Dharmapāla. The regularly spaced lines of the lower garment recall the lower garment of the Aphsaḍ Viṣṇu datable to the last quarter of the seventh century (Plate 88), while the ropelike belt with floral clasp recalls other figures from Aphsaḍ. However, these similarities are not sufficient to suggest a seventh-century date for the Aparājitā. The poorly articulated limbs of the figure, the broad necklace, and drooping upper eyelids are all features we find more commonly during the eighth century. Also, the hooks representing flames on the border of the halo are not encountered earlier but are commonly seen on eighth-century figures such as the Aphsaḍ Sūrya in the Indian Museum (Plate 194) and several of the bronze images of Nālandā. Although this is the only Buddhist figure at the inadequately explored site of Pachār Hill, a Buddhist shrine as well as Hindu temples once must have been there.

Three other Buddhist sculptures may be ascribed to the Gayā region, although their precise provenance is unrecorded. One is a life-size Mañjuśrī (Plate 145) reputedly from a site in Gayā District but now preserved in the Patna Museum. Quite different from the contemporary graceful, elegant Mañjuśrī from Nālandā (Plate 164), with which this figure is iconographically similar, it is solid and heavy in appearance, conforming to the characteristic Gayā mode of sculpture. In spite of the Gayā area artists's adoption of certain types established at Nālandā and the increasing conformity of Nālandā sculpture to the Magadha style, the basic distinction of sculptural form in these two places remains constant.

The other two images also may be ascribed to the Gayā area on the basis of style. One is a standing Buddha (Plate 146) that is reminiscent of the earliest standing Buddha from Bodhgayā (Plate 24). The right hand benevolently extends downward in varada mudrā toward the kneeling devotee, while the left hand holds the garment end at shoulder level as common at this time. Behind the figure is a backslab of the sort used for several eighth-century figures found near Gayā, for example a Viṣṇu in the Bodhgayā Mahant's collection (Plate 155) and another from Koṅch (Plate 159). The Buddha's relatively heavy form seems more in keeping with the style of Bodhgayā, although the figure, like the Buddha to the right of the entrance of the Mahābodhi temple, shows the new influence of the Nālandā style in the pose, garment, and even such details as the crescents that mark the knees. Though once ascribed to the tenth century,[53] the figure cannot be that late, as comparison with any of the dated images of the late ninth and tenth century will show. The Buddhist creed appears on the halo in characters virtually identical to the ones used for the creed on the pedestal of the seated Buddha from Bodhgayā now in the Naradah Museum. A

second inscription, not fully legible, appears along the proper left side of the backslab.

The style of a life-size black stone Lokanātha now in the Asia House Gallery, New York (Plate 147) bears out the reputed Bodhgayā area provenance of the figure.[54] Not only does the form of the body show a notable resemblance to the standing Buddha, but also the erect pose is more in keeping with the stance favored in this area than the common ābhaṅga pose of Bodhisattvas from Nālandā. Its date is shown by the relatively firm appearance of the figure's surface and by details of ornament, such as the double-stranded necklace, not in vogue before the eighth century, and embellished serpentine armlets of a type common during the eighth century, seen for example on a Viṣṇu from Bodhgayā (Plate 155).

At this same time an unprecedented number of Brahmanical sculptures were made at or near the ancient pilgrimage site of Gayā. The few earlier Brahmanical sculptures in Gayā District apparently had no direct effect on the art of Gayā town but rather were localized developments. For example the sixth-century sculptures from Koṅch and Amānwā (Plates 64 and 65) have no known contemporaries at Gayā; nor does the seventh-century Revanta from Pachār Hill (Plate 66). The relatively prolific Brahmanical centers to the east of Gayā near modern Nawādā, for example Aphsaḍ and Mahrāwāṅ, again seem to have made no impact on any center close to Gayā, where the earlier activity was centered at Bodhgayā and exclusively Buddhist. Since Gayā was a major Hindu pilgrimage center long before the eighth century,[55] it is puzzling that we have neither inscriptional evidence for the pilgrims, as we do at Bodhgayā, nor images that they might have dedicated. But there can be no doubt about the spurt of activity during the eighth century in the environs of Gayā. Some of these Brahmanical images were made practically within the shadow of the Mahābodhi temple, while Brahmanical sculptures were dedicated at Gayā itself, as well as at other sites nearby.

What, then, is the artistic ancestry of these Brahmanical sculptures? Their lineage may be traced to the earlier Buddhist sculptures of the region, suggesting that the descendants of the very artists who had worked for Buddhist patrons now also served Brahmanical donors. Evidence for this artistic continuity may be seen in the close correspondence between a seventh-century image of the Buddha protected by Mucilinda (Plate 62) and an eighth-century sculpture of Umā-Maheśvara (Plate 148) now enshrined in a modern temple at the Dharmāraṇya, about two miles east of Bodhgayā, across the Nirañjana River. Striking similarities between these sculptures are evident in the shape of the face and the treatment of the features, the smooth, unmodulated surface of the torso, and even the adornment of Umā's hair and the polished finish of the black stone. However, the appearance of the Umā-Maheśvara has enough in common with other sculptures of the Dharmāraṇya discussed below to confirm its eighth-century date. If we are correct in presuming that a person became an artist in ancient India because the profession like other occupations was essentially hereditary, and that the training was passed from generation to generation,[56] then it is likely that the continuity of stylistic features may be explained by the preservation of traditions within a family, however extended that family may have been. In other words, the term workshop, used throughout this book, may be synonymous with family.

In addition to the Umā-Maheśvara image, two other sculptures at the Dharmāraṇya also probably date to the eighth century. One is a standing Viṣṇu (Plate 149) in a second temple at the site; it does not follow by a great deal of time the Aphsaḍ Viṣṇu (Plate 88) of the later seventh century. Here, though, the somewhat firmer appearance of the stomach and less richly carved ornament suggest a later date, though not significantly later. Like other pre-Pāla Viṣṇu images from the vicinity of Gayā, this figure also lacks the garland (vanamālā), a customary feature of Viṣṇu images elsewhere. The great serpent canopy over the head is an especially peculiar feature, as it would normally be reserved for images of Balarāma, not Viṣṇu. The canopy may be seen shielding a Balarāma image (Plate 151) in the Maṅgla Ghorī temple, Gayā, whose appearance so resembles that of the Dharmāraṇya Viṣṇu that it may be a product of the same workshop. As the Dharmāraṇya figure holds all four of Viṣṇu's attributes but not the plowshare of Balarāma, there can be no doubt about the identity of the image. The serpent canopy, then, may be explained as a vestige of a serpent cult in the area. Its influence probably accounts for the story of Mucilinda associated with the Buddha's Enlightenment and for the surviving images depicting this event (Plates 60–62), known at no other site in Eastern India.

The third image at the Dharmāraṇya, again enshrined in its own temple, is worshipped as Rāmacandra but clearly represents Viṣṇu (Plate 150). Smaller than the other two images of this location, it is also somewhat later, though no later than Dharmapāla's time. The upper torso is truncated in the manner of the Buddha Mucilinda image, but in keeping with its later date, the high waist is indented sharply; and now instead of the single strand necklace worn by figures since the Gupta period, this Viṣṇu is decked in an additional broader necklace of the sort seen commonly on images dating to the time of Davapāla and later, for example on the Kurkihār Balarāma (Plate 178) and on the Balarāma from Nālandā (Plate 177) both dedicated during Devapāla's reign.

About a half mile closer to Bodhgayā, in the village of Bakraur, is the modern Mataṅgavapī temple, which has several old images enshrined within and embedded in its walls. Most date to the time of Devapāla, but a few, such as

the small Viṣṇu illustrated in Plate 152, are approximately contemporary with the Viṣṇu shielded by the serpent canopy at the nearby Dharmāraṇya. Although the mace and wheel are not personified here, that should not be taken as an indication of a later date though sometime during the ninth century personifications of these attributes go out of vogue. Several figures dating as early as the fifth century show the wheel and mace in their actual form, such as the Narasiṁha from Shāhkuṇḍ (Plate 32).

Even within the precinct of the Mahābodhi temple, a relief with images of Sūrya, Lakulīśa, and Viṣṇu was found.[57] Its significance lies even more in that it bears an inscription dated in the twenty-sixth regnal year of Dharmapāla (c. 809/10) and records the dedication of a four-faced image of Mahādeva in a shrine called the Campāyatana for the benefit of the Chief of the Mallas living at Mahābodhi, that is at Bodhgayā.[58] That the inscription was found there in the nineteenth century is no reason to presume that the Śiva image was consecrated within the very compound of the Mahābodhi temple. It could have been transported there, but surely not from a great distance because the inscription records Bodhgayā as the residence of the patron. Whether this dedication indicates the establishment or growth of a Brahmanical community at Bodhgayā is by no means clear, since we have no notion of whether the place earlier was an exclusively Buddhist center. Though perhaps this is an overly cautious view, we may best consider this image part of the newly burgeoning Brahmanical activity rather than a manifestation of some new inroad into a previously exclusive realm.[59] This view is supported by the creation, at the same time as the Brahmanical sculptures, of more Buddhist sculptures at Bodhgayā than at any time since the erection of the stone railing around the Mahābodhi temple.

Although the image of Mahādeva, whose dedication the inscription records, is not known, it was probably neither a fully anthropomorphic four-faced image nor a conventional four-faced liṅga. Rather, following the format of the inscribed relief, it was most likely a liṅga carrying images of Sūrya, Śiva (Lakulīśa, depicted on the relief, is commonly recognized as his final incarnation), Viṣṇu, and a fourth deity, probably Gaṇeśa. Several liṅgas of this sort contemporary with the inscription are maintained in the compound of the Śrī Vāgdevī Vajraśīla temple, located just south of the Mahābodhi temple, and one is now preserved in the collection of the Bodhgayā Mahant.[60]

At Masāṛh and Deo Baruṇārk the four deities of such liṅgas were arranged around the base of a dhvajastambha, which especially in the case of the latter place conveyed a sense of universal domain through the depictions of the Grahas at the middle of the shaft and the guardians of the four directions at the summit. This same symbolism is conveyed by the double-sided wheel such as the one from Bodhgayā (Plates 153–154), which may be assigned to the time of Dharmapāla. While considering the earlier sculptures of this sort from Sālār, Marūī, and Mahrāwāṅ (Plates 38, 91–94), I discussed the dual symbolism of the image, noting that it is an appropriate emblem to stand before temples of Viṣṇu, but when surmounting pillars bearing royal dedications it recalls the universal monarch, by implication the temple's patron. Like the other double-sided wheels, this one from Bodhgayā was probably intended as the crowning member of a pillar in front of a temple of Viṣṇu, probably one provided as a royal gift.

Two other Brahmanical images from Bodhgayā date to the later part of the eighth century or opening years of the ninth. A Viṣṇu now in the collection of the Bodhgayā Mahant (Plate 155) has more sharply chiseled features than the slightly earlier Dharmāraṇya Viṣṇu standing beneath the serpent canopy, and overall little trace remains of the Gupta sensitivity that had been preserved through the seventh century. In addition, certain features of the ornament suggest a date later than the Dharmāraṇya Viṣṇu. For example, the serpentine armlets are composed of several strands, and a comma-shaped motif adorns the border of the halo to indicate flames. Both are commonly seen in images of the ninth century and later.[61] The planes of the body are clearly distinguished from one another, giving a more hardened appearance to the surface than we find in earlier images. A pair of necklaces replaces the single strand used earlier. Still the figure retains the massive quality, especially emphasized by the large head, associated with images of the Gayā area from earliest times.

In the treatment of both the body and ornaments, a Sūrya (Plate 156) found within the enclosure of the Mahābodhi temple appears almost identical to the Mahant's Viṣṇu. Also similar is the open space between the body and backslab, a feature seen with increasing frequency during the eighth century. Here, as in other ways such as the more highly refined ornament and crisp carving, the artists may be drawing inspiration from contemporary metal sculpture in which the image was cast separately from the pedestal and backslab. Although no evidence is available of such an early bronze casting workshop at Bodhgayā, there surely was one as close as Kurkihār by the time of Devapāla, and the Nālandā workshop flourished throughout the eighth century. It may be noteworthy, then, that though the bronze artists drew their initial inspiration from stone sculptures, they lent influence in turn to the stone artists.

Also during the eighth century, though not quite so early in the century as at Bodhgayā, the first Brahmanical sculptures appear at Gayā itself. They are not concentrated at any one location in the city but are scattered about, principally in shrines at the various ghāṭs leading to the river. Just a few sculptures dating to the later part of the eighth century or opening years of the ninth century, during the

reign of Dharmapāla, may show the extent of Gayā imagery from that time. For example, a Viṣṇu collected from the famous Viṣṇupada temple (Plate 157), now in the Gayā Museum, apparently developed from the sort of figure earlier established at the Dharmāraṇya and Bakraur. A second Viṣṇu (Plate 158), from the Kṛṣṇa-Dvārka temple and also in the Gayā Museum,[62] must be ascribed to the same time. At Ghāṭs along the river, particularly in the compound of the Viṣṇupad temple, at Sūrāj Kuṇḍ, Brahmāṇī Ghāṭ, and across the river at Sītā Kuṇḍ, other sculptures of Dharmapāla's time may be seen.[63] These sculptures show widespread activity around Gayā, for even if they were not originally installed in their present location, it is unlikely that they could have been plundered from a single monument.

Elsewhere in the vicinity of Gayā, a few scattered images of Dharmapāla's time may be seen and, as at Gayā itself, many more are datable to the time of his successor. For example, at Orel, less than two miles west of Kurkihār, are many small stone liṅgas, one of which bears a face of Śiva clearly made close to 800.[64] One other image, a Viṣṇu from Koṅch (Plate 159), is particularly notable. It is most closely related to the Viṣṇu in the Bodhgayā Mahant's collection. Though the surface of this figure's torso is smoother and the indentation at the waist more pronounced, many features, such as the short lower garment secured with a ropelike belt, the serpentine armlets, the beaded yajñopavīta beside a plain strand, and the beaded earrings, are all features shared by the two images. Also like the other eighth-century Viṣṇu images of the Gayā area but unlike those dating to the time of Devapāla and later, the figure wears no garland.

Additional activity at Koṅch about this time is shown by a fine Ekamukha Liṅga (Plate 160) now installed in front of the Koṅcheśvara temple. Though the product of a different hand from the master responsible for the Viṣṇu, the gently modeled planes of the face and single-strand necklace indicate that it too dates before Devapāla's time.

The unprecedented appearance of images at Gayā and at sites nearby during the late eighth century is difficult to explain. Surely the ancient tīrtha town of Gayā, long attested in literature, was no more sacred in the time of Dharmapāla than during earlier centuries. Yet it was certainly not flourishing earlier, as both Fa Hsian and Hsuan Tsang found Gayā essentially deserted and in ruins.[65] In spite of their overriding interest in things Buddhist, they could not have failed to note a city filled with Hindu pilgrims. The observations of these Chinese pilgrims are especially difficult to doubt because not a single inscription or image from Gayā is known that may be ascribed to any time earlier than the eighth century.[66] No one religious, social, or economic development can account for the emergence of Gayā during the eighth century, and yet the ancient pilgrimage center seems to have been regenerated and reestablished as part of the great resurgence of building activity that can be documented over much of North India during the eighth and ninth centuries. So the general stability that was the impetus for the development of these other sites also must account for the development of Gayā.

Nālandā-Rājgir Area

Although no new construction at Nālandā may be confidently ascribed to the eighth century and certainly none with remaining sculptural adornment, the earliest stone images independent of architecture and the first bronze sculptures of the site were made at this time. One stone stūpa bears an inscription written during Dharmapāla's reign,[67] and many other sculptures may be ascribed to this time on stylistic grounds. Each of these represents a more modest contribution than the huge buildings that were the offerings of Nālandā's earlier patrons, but doubtless the Mahāvihāra was no less vital than it had been before. Minor donors probably provided the many stone and bronze sculptures made there during the eighth century, but two major endowments certainly contributed to the welfare of the monastery. One was granted by Mālāda, the son of king Yaśovarman's minister,[68] and the other came from Dharmapāla himself.[69] Both in the inscription providing that endowment and in his Khalimpur copperplate inscription,[70] Dharmapāla declared himself a *paramasugata*, a worshipper of the Buddha, and so it is not surprising that he should have directed gifts to the most important Buddhist monastery of his time, although his most generous gifts went to the foundation of the great monastic establishments at Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla.[71]

This was a time of artistic transition at the monastery. As we shall see, some sculptures retain clear vestiges of the earlier Nālandā style, reflecting the ultimate Sārnāth character that had dominated the art there. These Nālandā sculptures dating to the threshold of Pāla times show the overwhelming influence of earlier Nālandā images, particularly the stucco figures on the site's principal monument. They imply continued work by the descendants and followers of earlier artists at the site, thus suggesting the presence of permanent, resident workshops at Nālandā. However, at this very time we find sculptures at Nālandā that conform to the more common canons of Magadha art, indicating the influx of new artists into the monastery.

Among the sculptures that retain strong traces of earlier works at Nālandā is a deep pink sandstone Bodhisattva (Plate 161) found in a small shrine north of the main sanctuary of Site No. 12 and now preserved in the National Museum of India. This figure appears to be closely modeled on the stucco Lokanātha (Plate 70) of the Great Stūpa at Site No. 3. Here, however, the left hand, instead of being placed on the hip as it was on the earlier image, clutches the lotus stem at shoulder level, a more common location for the left

hand at this time. For example, in the case of standing Buddhas such as the one to the right of the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple (Plate 141), the left hand holds the garment end at shoulder level. The graceful yajñopavīta of the stucco image has been eliminated, and the stark surface of the stone figure shows little of the subtle modeling apparent in the earlier model. The Bodhisattva stands against an elongated prabhāvalī adorned with a floral motif rendered in the form of a *vajra* rather than with the band of beads more commonly bordering the backslabs of earlier images. In spite of these differences, the overriding similarity of this image to the stucco Lokanātha, and the ultimate Sārnāth ancestry of both these sculptures, is apparent not only in the basic body form and pose but also in details such as the drooping roll of flesh beneath the navel and the sash worn diagonally across the hips.

One iconographic feature of this sculpture, by no means an insignificant one, deviates from the Lokanātha on which it is modeled: The seated Buddha in the headdress does not have the hands folded in the meditative gesture but points the right hand toward the earth in bhūmisparśa mudrā. According to the fully developed iconography of the five Dhyāni Buddhas, as they are commonly called — properly the five Jinas — in which the spiritual ancestor is placed in the Bodhisattva's headdress, this depiction would indicate that the image represents the Bodhisattva Vajrapāṇi, the spiritual descendant of the Buddha Akṣobhya, whose hand is held in bhūmisparśa mudrā. However, the system prescribes that the Bodhisattva Lokanātha should bear in the headdress a seated Buddha with the hands folded in the lap (dhyāna mudrā), that is Amitābha Buddha, just like the stucco sculpture on which this figure is modeled. As this Bodhisattva carries the full-blown pink lotus appropriate to forms of Avalokiteśvara such as Lokanātha, not the vajra appropriate to Vajrapāṇi, we must concur with Mlle. de Mallmann, who states that the figure does indeed represent Lokanātha and that until the system was rigidly codified, Avalokiteśvara-Lokanātha simply carried an image of the Buddha in the headdress, the gesture being of no consequence.[72] She assumes that the image dates to Gupta times and so concludes that the iconography of the five Dhyāni Buddhas and their descendant Bodhisattvas was finally codified by the Pāla period. But as the figure should be assigned to the late eighth century, it shows that still during the opening years of the Pāla age, the gesture of the Buddha in Lokanātha's headdress was not inflexibly prescribed. Only in general but not exclusive practice was the image in the headdress of Lokanātha a Buddha with the hands in dhyāna mudrā, and, as this Bodhisattva shows, deviations from the common practice could be found not just in provincial centers but at Nālandā itself.

The enormous black stone image (Plate 162) found installed in a small shrine in the northeast corner of Site No. 3[73] presents a similar iconographic problem. The figure is customarily identified as the Bodhisattva Samantabhadra on the basis of the varada mudrā and, more important, the small Buddha with the hands in dharmacakra mudrā in the headdress.[74] In the system of five Jinas, that Buddha would be Vairocana, the spiritual ancestor of Samantabhadra. However, this Bodhisattva holds the full-blown pink lotus appropriate to forms of Avalokiteśvara but none of the attributes of Samantabhadra;[75] the accompanying females, Tārā to the proper right and Bhṛkuṭī to the left, are not attested for Samantabhadra, while they are for the form of Avalokiteśvara known as Khasarpaṇa. Hence, this figure also most likely represents the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara. If in the less likely event that the image does represent Samantabhadra, then its huge size might indicate that this Bodhisattva was held in special esteem by at least one school at Nālandā during the early decades of Pāla times. During these very years on Java, two texts in which a pilgrim gains salvation through the instruction of Samantabhadra form the subject of the reliefs along the uppermost terraces of the Borobuḍur stūpa.[76]

The Bodhisattva is said to bear on the reverse side the Buddhist creed written to two lines in characters of the eighth century.[77] This date is supported by the ornamentation, sparse by contrast to that of figures datable to Devapāla's time, and by the elegant elongation and sensitively modeled body, which must be derived from the seventh-century stucco sculptures. Other details, too, such as marks to indicate the knees, conform to the Sārnāth-based style of the Nālandā stucco sculptures, but this image, one of the earliest at Nālandā carved from gray schist, is the product of an artist fully aware of the current Magadhan trends probably introduced to Nālandā by new sculptors coming to the monastery.

No better explained by any literary source is the iconography of a life-size buff sandstone image of Avalokiteśvara (Plate 163), one of the great masterworks of Nālandā stone sculpture, recently discovered at Site No. 3, just north of the Great Stūpa. No Bodhisattva corresponding precisely with the details of this image is described in texts such as the *Sāddhanamālā*, although rare comparable images are known. One for example, far more formalized than this and datable two centuries later, is preserved in the Indian Museum.[78] The meditating Buddha in the headdress and the full pink lotus held in the upper left hand leave little doubt that this figure represents a form of Avalokiteśvara. Here the precise detail gives absolute clarity to the iconography, with none of the rote qualities seen later, when the images simply illustrate a formula, showing none of the artistic inventiveness and sensitivity revived during the eighth century. In discussing the polish applied to some figures from Bodhgayā and the great space between the image and backslab, I have already identified the debt of some stone

sculptors to the contemporary bronze imagery. Here too the debt is apparent, but much more in the finesse of carving, a precision and delicacy comparable to that seen on the best of the bronzes, such as the Avalokiteśvara from Site No. 8 (Plate 170). Like most of the bronzes, this stone figure must be grouped with the more characteristic Nālandā images, that is, the sculptures based on the older Sārnāth-inspired stuccoes of Nālandā, though it has no remaining prototype among the stucco sculptures.

Like the Bodhisattva from Site No. 12 discussed above (Plate 161), an image found in the center of the main shrine of Site No. 8,[79] now housed in the National Museum of India (Plate 164), also appears to be modeled on one of the stucco images of the Great Stūpa. This figure, representing a form of Mañjuśrī known as Siddhaikavīra,[80] also is not carved from gray or black schist, elsewhere almost invariably used for sculpture of Eastern India at this time, but rather from a speckled buff sandstone that must have been imported from the vicinity of Vārāṇasī. Hence those artists who based the form of their sculptures on the Sārnāth-inspired stucco images of the Great Stūpa, eschewing current stylistic trends in other parts of Magadha, also preferred to use a stone identical to or resembling the one commonly used by the Sārnāth artists. In addition to apparent iconographic details, certain stylistic features of this Siddhaikavīra must have been derived from the seated stucco Mañjuśrī of the Great Stūpa (Plate 71), for example, the cushion of flesh beneath the navel, the slight smile of the mouth, and the open almond-shaped eyes. On the stone figure, as common during the eighth century, vestiges of Gupta softness are less apparent than in the stucco prototype, while the use of fine line to render detail is notably greater.

Remarkably similar to this figure is a buff sandstone torso of Mañjuśrī (Plate 165) in the British Museum.[81] Although the provenance of the sculpture is not recorded,[82] it must have come from Nālandā, since images of this stone and distinctive style were produced at no other site in Eastern India.[83] The comparatively slender, graceful form of the figure is characteristic of Nālandā images such as those discussed above (Plates 161–164); it furthermore stands in contrast to the compact, often more massive form of typical Magadha images such as the Mañjuśrī from Gayā District (Plate 145) and the black stone Mañjuśrī from Nālandā discussed below (Plate 166). In addition, the long lower garment extending below the knees and devoid of markings to indicate folds resembles the garment of the Siddhaikavīra but is different from that of other Mañjuśrī images. Also this figure, like the Siddhaikavīra carries a flower issuing from a tall floriate node growing directly from the base of the sculpture, while the other images of Mañjuśrī carry a flower whose stalk rises from a short node growing from a portion of the stem that emerges from the sculpture's base. Finally, both of these images wear a yajñopavīta, while the more characteristically Magadhan images of this Bodhisattva do not. In support of the stylistic features that indicate an eighth-century date for these images, the Buddhist creed incised twice between the shoulders on the reverse side of this torso is rendered in characters assigned to the eighth century.[84]

A more characteristically Magadha style Mañjuśrī (Plate 166) also was produced at Nālandā but undoubtedly by a different workshop, one which must have come to the Mahāvihāra only after the major building activity of the seventh century was completed; this sculpture has already been cited for the purpose of contrast with the two figures modeled on the Sārnāth-inspired stucco images of the Great Stūpa. Although it bears almost all of the iconographic traits of the sandstone images discussed above,[85] this figure is distinctively different in style as well as details of adornment. Carved from black schist and given a polished finish, the image appears more compact and heavy than the Mañjuśrī images discussed above and in many respects resembles the Mañjuśrī from Gayā District now housed in the Patna Museum (Plate 145) — the fashion and pattern of the lower garment, the fine beaded belt, and the elongated blue lotus flower. This and other sculptures that conform to the more widespread Magadha style should not be explained simply by indirect influence, for the correspondence of detail is remarkably great. Only the movement of artists, induced to new places when considerably more numerous sculptures were dedicated at this time, could account for the similarities. The movement may have caused the disbanding of earlier established workshops whose impact was largely local, and it created an essentially Eastern Indian style with only subtle local variations in form and motif.

Only two other stone sculptures from Nālandā, apart from a few very small images, appear to be datable before Devapāla's time. Both were found in the course of the early years of excavation at Nālandā in the southeast corner of Site No. 3,[86] the sacred focal point of the Mahāvihāra. One (Plate 167) was initially identified as Koṭiśrī,[87] later as Mahāsarasvatī,[88] and more recently as Vajraśāradā,[89] another form of Sarasvatī. Carved from light gray stone, the large central female figure is seated on a lotus flower, attended by four smaller male figures, two on each side, who sit on lotuses growing from stems that originate behind the large central flower. The right hand is held downward in varada mudrā; the left is broken. The image conforms to none of the descriptions of female deities in texts such as the *Sāddhanamālā*, but since each of the three male attendants with intact left hands holds a book, it seems likely that the main figure did also, and that the image represents a form of Sarasvatī, the personification of wisdom, whose emblem is the manuscript. In this respect, it is intriguing to note that the figure was found near the larger Nāga image (Plate 168) often called a statue of Nāgārjuna[90] but, in fact, holding an

attribute of Nāga images datable as early as the Kuṣāṇa period, the pot (*kamaṇḍalu*).[91] Nāgas were the guardians of sacred knowledge, for until it was released, they preserved the *Prajñāpāramitā*. Though it was Nāgārjuna who, according to tradition, restored the Prajñāpāramitā to mankind,[92] historical figures find little place in the imagery of India, in spite of their common representation in Nepal and especially in Tibet.[93] Especially poignant is the placement of these figures associated with the safekeeping of transcendant wisdom in the shadow of the site's Great Stūpa, whose ascent represented a metaphoric pilgrimage along the path toward acquisition of that wisdom.[94]

A brief inscription on the base of the Nāga image, a dedication by the official (bhaṭṭa) Maṇikya, is written in characters ascribed to the seventh century,[95] but this date is too early for the style of the sculpture. Both the Nāga and the Sarasvatī are decked in rich ornament, including a pair of necklaces, one of them broad, used often during the eighth century but never before. Yet the gentle modeling and comparatively easy pose of the Nāga and of the companions of the female image indicate a date no later than the time of Dharmapāla. Although tracing stylistic precedents for the Nāga image is difficult, the female figure, especially the face with its shallow cut features, bears some affinities with the sculptures of the temple plinth of Site No. 2. A comparison with the Mālādhara illustrated in Plate 74 will show the similarities, although her attendants have clear enough vestiges of the Gupta style of Sārnāth that one cannot suggest without reservation that this image is the work of descendants of the artists responsible for that temple plinth.

At the same time as the earliest remaining free-standing, nonarchitectural sculptures of Nālandā were made, the first bronze sculptures there were cast. Though the earliest bronze image from Nālandā that actually bears a date was inscribed in Devapāla's reign,[96] many of the bronzes there are demonstrably earlier. Indeed, no site in all Eastern India at this time — for that matter, no site in the entire subcontinent — has yielded as many bronze sculptures as Nālandā. A few images from Kurkihār may be assigned to Dharmapāla's time or a little earlier,[97] though the bulk of the bronzes there are datable to the period of Devapāla and later; also, bronze images of the eighth century have been discovered at both Mahāsthān and Maināmatī among several sites in Bengal, so at these places, and others too, bronze began to be cast extensively at the same time as at Nālandā. But the evidence of the images themselves shows that nowhere else at this time were bronze sculptures produced in such numbers and used as widely as at Nālandā. Here, as at Maināmatī and other monastic sites, the bronze sculptures were found exclusively in the dwelling places, the vihāras, the earliest being principally from the monasteries of Sites No. 1 and 8.

These images extend over a broad range of style and quality, but little would be gained by treating separately each bronze sculpture cast at Nālandā before Devapāla's time. Literally scores of bronzes were produced there during the two or three generations that worked during the late eighth and early ninth century, so a few sculptures will suffice to show the range of forms.

Six especially fine bronze images were found in a single cell in the northwest corner of the monastery at Site No. 8.[98] As the original context of these and other metal sculptures is not known, no explanation can be given for the placement of these sculptures together.[99] Among them is a Buddha image with the right hand lowered in bhūmisparśa mudrā (Plate 169), gilded as are the other bronzes of the group. The figure sits upon a lotus surmounting a two-tiered pedestal, as commonly used for early bronzes of Nālandā. Also common among the early bronzes of Nālandā are the struts disguised to appear as flower stems securing the flaming halo to the figure. The form of the body is finely proportioned and retains the sensitive modeling of earlier sculptures, but the head is set off on a rather tall neck and appears heavy, partly because the eyes, with thick drooping lower lids, are large and emphasized by the long incised eyebrows. These features, gone in the inscribed images of Devapāla's reign, suggest a date no later than the time of Dharmapāla. So does one detail of the garment: About the time of Devapāla, a loose end of the garment was neatly placed over the left shoulder as may be seen, for example, on the famous huge Buddha at Jagdiśpur,[100] just two miles from Nālandā, and on almost all other seated Buddhas whose figure style indicates a date during or after the reign of Devapāla; but the garment is not so placed on this bronze Buddha. Thus this metal image is a contemporary of the Bodhgayā Buddhas ascribed to the eight century (Plates 136–138) or the Tetrāwāṅ Buddha of this same time (Plate 180); however, in keeping with the high standard of Nālandā art, the bronze sculpture is notably more refined than any of these stone figures. Its form, though more linear overall, has a precedent in the bronze Buddha in the Cleveland Museum that recently has been assigned a Nepal provenance.[101] This should not imply that the Nālandā bronze has a Nepalese lineage; rather the two bronzes share a common source — most likely Sārnāth imagery — and furthermore manifest a style shaped in part by continuing influences of the art of Eastern India on that of its northerly neighbor and perhaps vice versa.

A gilded Avalokiteśvara (Plate 170) found with this Buddha shows a similarly refined body but also abundantly rich detail in the ornament. The Bodhisattva, with a small meditating Buddha in the headdress, is seated on a lotus and has the right hand raised in abhaya mudrā. The figure may be related to the stucco Lokanātha of the Great Stūpa (Plate 70), but the artist of this metal image reveals far greater

attention to minute detail, a jeweler's sensitivity to form in this miniature figure. The armlets, the thicker necklace, and the elaborate crown are among the adornments of the bronze Avalokiteśvara that are not seen on its seventh-century predecessor but that properly anticipate the dated sculptures of Devapāla's time. So does the ornate throne, quite different from the comparatively simple seats of earlier images in Eastern India (cf. Plates 63, 78, 79). Prototypes may be seen as early as the fifth century at Sārnāth,[102] but in Eastern India, neither the form of the throne nor the Gaja-Sārdūla motif at the sides and birds above the crossbar is known before this time. Rather, the throne corresponds closely with those of the two dated bronzes of Devapāla's time, lacking only the central projection, or *tri-ratha* form, that became common on the later bronzes.

Because the bronze images are much more numerous than the remaining stone sculptures of Nālandā, the style of a few individual artists can be identified. For example, a seated Mañjuśrī from Site No. 1 (Plate 171) was made by an artist whose hand may be recognized in several other bronze sculptures from Nālandā, among them the flag-bearing Bodhisattva illustrated in Plate 172. Characteristic of all these statues is the double lotus with short projecting stamens on which the figure sits; the large head with V-shaped mouth, prominent nose, and heavy eyelids; and the circular halo composed of concentric bands that are identical on each of the bronzes cast by this artist. While less elegant than the gilt images from Site No. 8, the style is not so different as to suggest a particularly distant date.

Correspondences between some of the Nālandā bronzes and contemporary stone sculptures from the site are often apparent, as may be seen by a comparison of two Lokanātha images (Plates 173 and 174). This comparison is not intended to suggest that one was modeled on the other, as implied by the relationship between some of the stone sculptures of Nālandā and the earlier stucco images of the site, or that they are products of the same hand. Even if we can imagine the pristine appearance of the bronze figure, without the abrasions and obliterations caused by corrosion, the small stone figure remains more refined and, in spite of its diminutive size, more awesome. But the comparison shows that the artists working in bronze were subject to the same inspiration and formed their figures in styles closely related to those of their contemporaries who carved in stone.

The medium seems to have imposed no constraints on the artists, for even among these sculptures made about the time of Dharmapāla, when bronze was just beginning to be widely used in the art of Eastern India, elaborate conceptions appear. In fact, the bronze images are often more ornately decked than their stone counterparts. This is the case, for example, with a miniature bronze stūpa (Plate 175) whose figures closely anticipate the attendants of the Nālandā Balarāma from Devapāla's time and so must date c. 800. This stūpa is more elaborately figured than any of the miniature stone stūpas of Nālandā. Bodhisattvas flank the stairways of each of the four sides, guarding access to the stūpa precinct, the very position these figures occupy even on the earliest remaining stūpas in India.[103] Above, on the drum, are eight scenes from the life of the Buddha, each within a separate niche, reminiscent of the narrative depictions on the railings of much earlier stūpas. The dome is nestled in the petals of a double lotus, while eight superimposed umbrellas project from the *harmikā*. Here the detail that the bronze craftsman has taken pains to show provides at least one useful insight. It is often assumed that the four Buddhas, each with the hands in a different mudrā, on the four sides of the miniature stone stūpas represent four of the five Dhyāni Buddhas.[104] Often that is the case, but the episodes of the Buddha's life, which on this bronze stūpa occupy the position normally accorded the Dhyāni Buddhas, indicate that at other times four life events of the historical Buddha were intended.[105]

Among the early bronzes of Nālandā, those dating approximately to the time of Dharmapāla, are several Brahmanical images. The figure of Pārvatī illustrated in Plate 176 is one such sculpture, and a Viṣṇu image from the vihāra of Site No. 1[106] is another. Dating a generation later is the figure of Balarāma, inscribed in Devapāla's reign (Plate 178), contemporary with a Balarāma from the Buddhist monastery at Kurkihār (Plate 179), dated to the ninth year of this monarch's reign.[107] The presence of these Brahmanical images at a Buddhist monastery requires special attention. Possibly, they were intended for the use of Hindus there or were made for export. Both of these explanations seem unlikely, however, as no evidence of long-term residence by any Hindus at Nālandā is known — the admission requirements of the monastery probably would have excluded them[108] — nor is there evidence of Brahmanical bronze images of a distinctive Nālandā style in any specifically Hindu context outside of the monastery. Moreover, the Brahmanical deities, just like the explicitly Buddhist ones, were found in the vihāras, that is the dwelling places, where the residents must have used them. Thus it seems likely that several Brahmanical deities had been absorbed into Buddhism by the time of Dharmapāla. Evidence from outside of India showing that Brahmanical deities figured in Buddhist maṇḍalas by the eighth century supports this view.[109] Furthermore, in Sanskrit texts composed sometime later, but probably preserving earlier conceptions, many Brahmanical deities are included in the maṇḍalas.[110]

Writers have commented often on the similarity of the Nālandā bronzes with those of other sites; but distinctive differences lead to the clear conclusion that Nālandā was only one of several contemporary bronze casting centers, as a comparison with contemporary bronze sculptures at Kur-

kihār and Sirpur will show. The standing Buddha from the monastery of Site No. 9 illustrated in Plate 179 shows striking similarities to the bronze Buddha from Kurkihār illustrated in Plate 143. The form of both figures, the body proportions, the overlapping ridges representing garment folds, and even the shape and design of the halo are shared by the two images. But these features are not enough to prove that they share a provenance. Only the most subtle distinctions can be seen, but they are sufficient to show that the bronzes are products of distinct but contemporary schools, though the artists of both may have a common heritage. The large, heavily modeled eyes of the Nālandā image are distinctive to most figures at the site, while the proportionally small facial features and comparatively narrow shoulders of the Kurkihār image are seen on most of the other bronzes of that Mahāvihāra. Other Nālandā figures that also have close counterparts among the Kurkihār bronzes show similar subtle distinctions.[111]

The Buddhist bronzes of Sirpur also have been appropriately related to the Nālandā metal sculptures.[112] Here once again, the basic similarities are striking, and they are customarily emphasized to show a correlation even though Sirpur lies in ancient Kosala, a considerable distance from Nālandā and from any earlier bronze sculpture center. However, there as well the local variants of the basic style are apparent. Most notably, the Sirpur artists apply fine linear detail wherever possible, while their contemporaries at Nālandā prefer modeled decor and do not hesitate to leave unadorned surfaces. For example, the haloes of some Sirpur bronzes are decorated with a close-spaced zig-zag pattern,[113] while this space is invariably left blank on the Nālandā examples; the crossbar of the throne of other Sirpur bronzes is decorated with an incised floral pattern,[114] while this too is left blank on the Nālandā bronzes; and the sash of still others is adorned with patterned vertical stripes,[115] while on the Nālandā examples only pleats running the length of the sash are shown.

Finally, many of the bronzes of distant Java have close counterparts among the bronzes of Nālandā. At first, Dutch writers, who focused on Indonesia, suggested that the Nālandā bronzes were made by Javanese craftsmen, while later the Javanese bronzes were thought to have been strongly and directly influenced by Nālandā metal imagery, if not made by artists from Nālandā.[116] However, A. J. Bernet-Kempers, in a careful and detailed study of the relationships, has shown convincingly that the Javanese metal sculptures are of indigenous origin and have only a superficial similarity to the Nālandā sculptures.[117]

The striking similarities between the bronzes of Nālandā and those of several other places have led writers to imply, if not always to assert explicitly, that Nālandā lent influence to all these other places. The direction of this presumed influence, that is from Nālandā outward, is by no means proved. The assumption seems to be based on the belief that Nālandā was the source of influence simply because it was the most important monastery of its time, and people from all over India, in fact, from all over the Buddhist world, stopped there. Then, those who assume a diffusion of bronze art from Nālandā must believe that these travelers returned home with at least the idea of casting bronze images if not with images themselves. However, the technique of metal casting and, especially, the spirit that stands behind the sculpture style could not have been conveyed by anyone other than an artist moving from one place to another, and nothing proves that the artists migrated from Nālandā outward. A close examination of the style of the images does not show any at Nālandā that are distinctively earlier than those of other sites. Rather, at all these places, bronze sculptures seem to have been made almost simultaneously, and always with distinct local variations. No one place has clear primacy, except perhaps in numbers of images. Hence the ultimate source for the bronze sculpture of all these centers, even Nālandā, remains obscure. At best we can guess that with the growing available patronage about the time of Dharmapāla, bronze casters who had been itinerant earlier began to settle simultaneously at several monastic centers, and in some cases remained for several generations.

Not a single stone image of the Buddha from Nālandā may be ascribed to the years of Dharmapāla's rule, or earlier for that matter, but one stone seated Buddha from Tetrāwāṅ (Plate 180),[118] 14 miles southeast of Nālandā, should be dated rather close to the year 800; at least one other eighth-century stone Buddha whose provenance is unrecorded probably originates in the vicinity. Tetrāwāṅ was the source of a seventh-century Buddha (Plate 78), more refined and graceful than this piece. Like the earlier image at the site, the late eighth-century Buddha holds the right hand in bhūmisparśa mudrā, by this time the favorite gesture for the Buddhas of all Eastern India. He is seated against a cushion, common on the thrones of Buddhas through the eighth century, although here the upper part of the bolster is pushed downward as if in response to a weighty halo. The outer band of the halo is decorated with a floral motif of a demi-lotus flower with a small lotus bud at each side. From this region eastward, this motif is seen commonly on the haloes of figures dating to the eighth century and later, but never before. A cloth is draped over the tall pedestal and in some later images provides a surface for inscriptions.[119] It also forms niches at either side that here carry the Gaja-Śārdūla pair, seen often on the thrones of images carved in Eastern India at this time. The figure was once ascribed to the same date as the earlier image of Tetrāwāṅ and that of the Buddha dedicated by the General Malluka (Plate 63),[120] though that dating was due to the indiscriminate attitude that tended to cluster all pre-Pāla images not patently of Gupta date. In fact, however, this figure (Plate 180) is distinctly later, as

the throne and decor of the halo show, closer in spirit and in proportions and regal erectness to the bronze Buddha from Site No. 8 at Nālandā (Plate 169). In addition, the flattened stomach is seen on several other sculptures of the era, for example a Viṣṇu from Dāpthū (Plate 190) and another from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 192).

A seated Buddha that has been in the British Museum since the middle of the last century (Plate 181) also probably comes from the Rājgir-Nālandā region if not from Nālandā itself and must be ascribed to a date near the beginning of the eighth century. This preaching Buddha is not far removed from the earlier Tetrāwāṅ image and might be assigned to the previous century but for the hook-shaped flames that encircle the halo and the high pedestal carved with recumbent deer and worshippers flanking the central wheel. At least as much as the earlier Tetrāwāṅ image (Plate 78), the face of this Buddha retains the gentle cast of the Sārnāth Gupta style, which began to vanish by the time of Dharmapāla, when the distinctive Sārnāth traces of Nālandā imagery were subsumed by the emerging style of Magadha.

Just as the bronze and stone sculptures of Nālandā no longer show the insular quality often characteristic of a local style, so the Jaina and Brahmanical imagery of the region now generally conform to the characteristic Magadha style. Nowhere is this clearer than in the Jaina images of Rājgir, previously products of a distinctive and rather unappealing local style perpetuated by artists there since the early Gupta period. Now a fine image of Ṛṣabhanātha (Plate 182) in the ruined temple of Vaibhāra Hill does not differ significantly from sculptures made over a wide area of Eastern India, as a comparison with a contemporary Ṛṣhabhanātha from Champāpur (Plate 201) will show. An inscription proclaiming the dedication by an *ācārya* named Vasantanandin is written in characters that confirm the eighth-century date that the sculpture's style implies.[121] The figure no longer shows any of the awkward provinciality, the massive and rather flaccid form earlier common to the Jaina images of Rājgir. This is a well-modeled, well-articulated figure that conforms to the general style of the time. The standing attendants are somewhat more freely disposed than those of the bronze Balarāma from Kurkihār dating to Devapāla's reign (Plate 178), while the throne carved against the backslab conforms perfectly to the type widely used during the seventh and eighth centuries, though not before this time for a Jaina image at Rājgir. A single umbrella, in this case curiously flanked by a pair of upraised arms, shields the Tīrthaṅkara, conforming to a fashion established near the end of the Gupta age,[122] although a century earlier three superimposed umbrellas had been introduced in the Jaina art of Rājgir (Plate 81).

The pair of large standing Neminātha figures (Plates 183, 184) that today flank the early fifth-century seated image of this Tīrthaṅkara also were made during the eighth century. Although assigned by some to the Gupta age,[123] no doubt only because of their proximity to the inscribed seated Neminātha, their body follows a pattern quite common in Eastern India during the eighth century as may be seen, for example, in the standing Viṣṇu images of the Dharmāraṇya and Bakraur (Plates 149, 150, 152).

Two Umā-Maheśvara images given to the Asutosh Museum by P. C. Nahar also probably originate in Rājgir, as this is where the Nahar family developed the collection. One of these, a seated pair (Plate 185), is notably different from the Umā-Maheśvara at the Dharmāraṇya (Plate 148), but this sculpture was probably made much closer to 800, almost a full century later than the Dharmāraṇya image. Though the torso is barely modeled, the four-armed Śiva appears large and heavy, and the size of the broad head is exaggerated by the tall jaṭā. The figure is ornately decked with jewelry, probably stimulated by the intricate work of the bronze casters at nearby Nālandā. Comparable attention to detail is shown on Śiva's consort, both in her accoutrements and in the pattern of her garments. The dot and flame motif that outlines the backslab also may be the result of inspiration from the bronze workers at Nālandā as the motif is common for their images, seen for example on the halo of an Avalokiteśvara from the monastery of Site No. 8 (Plate 170).

The other Umā-Maheśvara image (Plate 186) shows the couple standing and is a gerat deal more sensitively modeled and generally well-executed than the seated pair, though this distinction only indicates a different hand, not time. In other respects the sculptures have much in common, particularly in the faces, which reveal a faint smile and prominent almond-shaped eyes as observed on several of the Nālandā bronzes and also on a contemporary Kubera from Rohoi (Plate 187), only about 15 miles to the north.[124] The Pārvatī's face especially bears a marked resemblance to a sandstone female head recovered from Site No. 3 at Nālandā;[125] the unusual single cylinder earring is also worn by a bronze Tārā from Nālandā, one of the early bronzes at the site,[126] and by a Gadādevī from Dāpthū (Plate 191). The artist of these figures, too, showed a predilection for rich jewelry and paid close attention to the garment patterns.

Though the number of images from Rājgir dating before Devapāla's time is surprisingly small, these two plus the great Maṇiyār Maṭh of the sixth century seem to indicate that Rājgir held special favor for worshippers of Śiva. The Garuḍāsana found in the Son Bhaṇḍār Cave (Plate 82) and a Varāha now in the Patna Museum (Plate 188)[127] are the only other Hindu sculptures from Rājgir dating to the period 300–800. While some features of the two Umā-Maheśvara sculptures, for example the treatment of the eyes and some of the ornament, relate the images to others from the Rājgir-Nālandā area, and distinguish them from contemporary sculptures made in the vicinity of Gayā, the overall

conception, that is, the proportions and form of the body, show so few marked distinctions from images made elsewhere in Eastern India at this time that we must conclude that the general Magadhan or even pan-Eastern Indian characteristics of these figures are far more significant than their regional peculiarities.

At Nālandā itself several Hindu images were recovered from Site No. 12,[128] and some magnificent ones still are enshrined in a temple at the village of Bargaon, less than a mile from the excavated area of the Mahāvihāra. None of these dates before Devapāla's time, but a large stone Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu (Plate 189) found about a half mile north of the village, near the adjacent village of Begampur,[129] dates to the eighth century. A frontal figure whose size dwarfs the disproportionately small, static mount, this Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu is entirely different from the seventh-century image of Viṣṇu on his flying mount from Rājgir (Plate 82) or the one now in the Cleveland Museum (Plate 107), who rides his mount as if on horseback. The figure most closely resembles the mounted Viṣṇu of the superb Pātharghāṭā relief (Plate 33), although this one is more formally rendered, in spite of a few graceful lines such as the āyudhapuruṣas who follow the curve of Garuḍa's wings. This Viṣṇu wears a necklace and yajñopavīta, each consisting of two strands of beads, commonly used during the eighth century instead of a single strand, while the simplified modeling of the body recalls the planar treatment noted above on the Rājgir Śiva seated with his consort (Plate 185).

A life-size Viṣṇu (Plate 190) in the courtyard of the Indian Museum from the rich site of Dāpthū[130] is the final sculpture from the Rājgir-Nālandā region that may be ascribed to the eighth century, and, in fact, it is included here only as a convenience, since the site is almost equidistant from Rājgir and Gayā.[131] Significantly, its style conforms better to that of several Viṣṇu images in the area designated in the Gaṅgā Valley. It is not difficult to see how the figure's form has evolved from that of more sensitively modeled seventh-century sculptures such as the Viṣṇu from Aphsaḍ (Plate 88), though here harsher modeling of the torso makes the component parts stand out with greater clarity, but not in such an exaggerated manner as seen on several contemporary figures found somewhat farther east: a Viṣṇu from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 192), one from Aphsaḍ (Plate 193), and another carved on Jahāngīra Rock at Sultānganj (Plate 196). The face is flattened, again resembling the faces of those three figures, so that the features are delineated with the same precision as the deity's ornament and show little of the softness of flesh. A Gadādevī (Plate 191), now in the Patna Museum, was originally part of this same sculpture.[132] Though her pose and many details of the body are similar to the Umā accompanying the contemporary standing Śiva from Rājgir (Plate 186), the face of this Gadādevī, like that of the Viṣṇu she attended, is more flattened, and the contrast between the bulging stomach and flattened chest notably more pronounced.

Thus one need not travel far from the Rājgir-Nālandā area to see sculptures of somewhat different style, although even at the very centers of Nālandā and Rājgir the distinctive character of the imagery was quickly waning. At Nālandā, several images whose style may be characterized as generally Eastern Indian probably were fashioned by new artists who arrived to work stone for the first free-standing images of the Mahāvihāra; at Rājgir the provincial Jaina style is entirely given over to one that conforms to far less localized canons. The Brahmanical imagery shows no trace of the Sārnāth Gupta style that so clearly infused the earliest Hindu sculptures of Rājgir, the Maṇiyār Maṭh stucco images. Though one can go as near to Rājgir as Dāpthū to see works in a different style, the local styles are only the result of settled workshops but no longer ones oblivious to the broad regional currents of the time.

Gaṅgā Valley

At sites along the route of trade, pilgrimage, and migration that runs through the area here designated the Gaṅgā Valley of Eastern India, we at once see harshly modeled figures, extraordinarily flattened in form, the ultimate stylization of an older tradition, and newly revitalized figures representative of the evolving style whose sensitivity marks one of the highpoints in Indian art. The styles are not confined to this region. Rather, the boundaries that once defined style groups have become so insignificant that many sculptures from the Gaṅgā Valley are essentially indistinguishable from their contemporaries in the Gayā and Rājgir-Nālandā regions; one major monument in the eastern part of the Gaṅgā Valley, the stūpa of Antichak, has its closest counterpart in Bengal, and so is discussed later in this chapter. Almost nothing from Pāṭaliputra can be ascribed to this time, while to the south, along the route that Hsuan Tsang had followed in the previous century, abundant images are datable to the eighth century, indicating that the major centers and the routes connecting them still ran due east from Gayā, altogether avoiding the ancient capital, and returned northward to parallel the Gaṅgā only beyond Nawādā. This very route was followed by pilgrims even in modern times.[133]

The adjacent villages of Marūī and Mahrāwāṅ, the sources of earlier male figures dancing against wheels (Plates 91–94), have yielded a few images datable to the eighth century, among the final products of the artists who have settled there.[134] Best preserved of these is a standing Viṣṇu now in the Naradah Museum, Nawādā (Plate 192). In general appearance and iconographic detail, the figure is not significantly different from contemporary images of Eastern

India, but in a few features of style and ornament it still reveals a fashion of the local area. Notable among these features are the pair of necklaces, the second carrying a large pendant, and the floral decoration around the border of the halo, composed of large demi-lotus blossoms at the top and two sides with smaller overlapping flowers between. The strongly flattened stomach, here especially emphasized by the horizontal line dividing the stomach from the chest, is typical of images carved at this time in the Gaṅgā Valley, though also seen as far west as Dāpthū (Plate 190); the long locks of hair flowing over the shoulders also are commonly seen here but more rarely in other parts of Eastern India. This coiffure follows an older fashion in the region, seen for exmaple on the late seventh-century Viṣṇu from Aphsaḍ (Plate 88), but the other features noted are all innovations of the eighth century.

Although contemporary with the Viṣṇu collected between the villages of Marūī and Mahrāwāṅ, a male bust from the same site (Plate 193), now in the Patna Museum, is undoubtedly the product of a different hand, as shown by the more slender form of the body and the more delicate, proportionally small face, which contrasts markedly with the massive jewelry adorning the figure. This includes a huge pendant of the second necklace and armlets with a plaquette projecting upward and beaded loops suspended downward. Other features, such as the decoration of the halo, conform to the favored local fashion. Also the ringlets of hair are similar to those of the large standing Viṣṇu of this site. The bust has been identified tentatively as representing Sūrya,[135] although that is unlikely since the solar deity at this time commonly wears no yajñopavīta, as does this figure, but a sash (*udarabandha*) tied around the high waist (cf. Plates 194 and 198); moreover, there is no trace of the lotus stems on the shoulders or flowers against the halo. More likely this crowned, bejeweled figure represents Viṣṇu.

About eighteen miles north of Marūī and Mahrāwāṅ, an image of Sūrya (Plate 194) now in the Indian Museum was collected at Aphsaḍ,[136] a major center of activity during the reign of the late seventh-century king Ādityasena. It is one of the latest works from that site,[137] and so at Aphsaḍ as at Marūī and Mahrāwāṅ, work seems to have come to a halt during the ninth century. Like the flattened figures of this region, the body of this Sūrya is firm, hardly relieved by subtleties of modeling, and overall the figure appears still and inelegant by contrast to the seventh-century products of the site. The attendants, Daṇḍa to the proper left and Piṅgala to the right, lean outward at precarious angles, almost identical to the poses of the āyudhapuruṣas that are essentially all that remains of a contemporary Viṣṇu image, originally almost life-size, now standing on the hill at Aphsaḍ enveloping the Viṣṇu temple there. Their position, however, is quite different from the stance of the attendants of the earlier Sūrya at the site (Plate 90). In addition to the hardened form of the figure's surface, almost replicating the appearance of bronze, the hook pattern around the halo, to represent tongues of flame, and the broad second necklace suggest a date during the eighth century.

A contemporary sculpture is a life-size Viṣṇu (Plate 195) also from Aphsaḍ[138] and also now preserved in the Indian Museum. A comparison with the earlier Viṣṇu of the site ascribed to the time of Ādityasena (Plate 88) will quickly reveal the differences and show the extent to which the figure conforms to the eighth-century style prevailing in the Gaṅgā Valley. The stomach is flattened like that of a Viṣṇu carved on the face of Jahāngīra Rock at Sultānganj (Plate 196) and contrasts markedly with the fleshy chest, while the face too is planar. As customary during the eighth century, a second strand is added to the necklace, though here without the enormous pendants often used. The particular fashion of the lower garment, with a long pleat between the legs and asymmetrical lines to indicate folds, is also not seen before this time, but it is used occasionally on contemporary images, for example on the figure of Piṅgala accompanying the eighth-century Sūrya from this very site (Plate 194).

Further north, the route along which the principal sites lie comes close to the river and again moves eastward; there, near the modern town of Lakhi Sarai, religious centers have flourished since the Kuṣāṇa period. Nonagaṛh, the source of a Kuṣāṇa import from Mathurā,[139] is just eleven miles southeast of Lakhi Sarai, and Rājaona, the site of a Gupta temple whose fine pillars are now in the Indian Museum (Plates 27–29), is only two miles northwest of Lakhi Sarai. At the village of Valguḍar, bordering on the north side of Rājaona, an image bearing an inscription of Dharmapāla, now sadly lost, is the only recorded trace of eighth-century activity in the area.[140] However, as Hsuan Tsang verifies the vitality of this area in the middle of the seventh century,[141] the locale must have maintained its importance during the eighth century and probably long after that.[142] The place marked not only the point where the route turned eastward to parallel the Gaṅgā but also, in all probability, the juncture with a route continuing westward along the river to Pāṭaliputra. All antiquities discovered here are known only from chance finds, and no excavations in this potentially rich area have been conducted.

In the eastern part of the Gaṅgā Valley, between the modern towns of Sultānganj and Colgong, splendid products of Gupta artists are found on Jahāngīra Rock (Plates 30, 31), Shākuṇḍ (Plate 31), and Pātharghāṭā (Plates 33–35). However, for more than a century after that time, no monuments in the area are known, with the sole exception of the Buddhist images from Sultānganj, as if this once important area fell into obscurity until the eighth century, when a great revival is apparent. Here, only a mile from Pātharghāṭā, Dharmapāla established his great Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra, soon to rival Nālandā's importance. As the

area flourished when the route connecting Magadha with Bengal became increasingly well-traveled in the newly united Pāla realm, patrons provided support for the monuments of other faiths as well.

For example Jahāngīra Rock, on an island in the Gaṅgā opposite Sultānganj, which had been adorned with a few carvings during the Gupta period, was so elaborately embellished during the late eighth century that hardly any part of the surface remains without sculptures. Among these images, the Vaiṣṇava sculptures have been published and discussed in some detail;[143] however, it is important here to draw attention to one of the standing Viṣṇu figures (Plate 196), one of the most imposing sculptures of the site, as it conforms so well to the flattened style favored during this time in the Gaṅgā Valley. Though much about the figure appears ungainly and unrefined, the planar treatment of the body and face, the prominent divisions of the torso, the disposition of the ringlets of hair over the shoulders, and the double beaded strands of the necklace are common to contemporary images, especially from sites in the Gaṅgā Valley.

Most other images of Jahāngīra Rock conform more closely to a contemporary, more modeled and refined style, exemplified by a second Viṣṇu there (Plate 197). Among other more modeled figures is a Sūrya standing in a chariot (Plate 198), a more elaborate conception than the single figure attended only by Daṇḍa and Piṅgala found elsewhere in Magadha. With the inclusion of the female archers, Ūṣā and Pratyūṣā, as well as the charioteer and horses beneath, the sculpture is closer to Sūrya images from Bengal (Plates 13, 105, 106) than figures from Magadha.[144] The unrestricted expanse of stone may account for the elaborate treatment, but more likely the site's proximity to Bengal, where customarily Sūrya is shown in his chariot with the full panoply of attendants, accounts for the composition. At other places as well in the eastern part of the Gaṅgā Valley, close connections with the art of Bengal can be observed, for example in the case of the principal monument at the Vikramaśīla monastery, which is nearly identical with the stūpa at Pāhāpur, ancient Somapura. This, too, can be explained by the site's proximity to Bengal, but also the new intercourse between Magadha and Bengal, stimulated by the unified Pāla realm, must account for the transmission of ideas and the breakdown of old regional boundaries within Eastern India.

Śiva on Jahāngīra Rock, as at Deo Baruṇārk, the Dharmāraṇya, and Rājgir, is depicted with his consort, for through the eighth century the pair is far more common than single anthropomorphic images of Śiva in the art of Eastern India. Here the superb Umā-Maheśvara (Plate 199), carved from a part of the rock now shielded by a modern temple, conforms with only subtle distinctions to the iconographic pattern established elsewhere in Eastern India. Śiva, touching his consort's chin as he does in all the other sculptures of this pair in Eastern India, is seated in a position that corresponds most closely with that of the images from Deo Baruṇārk and Rājgir (Plates 130, 131, 185), although the god is not four-armed as in those examples, but two-armed like the Dharmāraṇya sculpture (Plate 148). The triśūla is placed behind the right shoulder as in the case of only the seated Umā-Maheśvara from Rājgir. The attenuated, sensitively modeled style of this image, and most of the others on Jahāngīra Rock, recalls the earlier Gupta sculpture of this very site and the Gupta reliefs at Pātharghāṭā, less than fifty miles east along the river, where the figures also were carved on a large rocky outcropping.

Among the several sites in Eastern India with a longstanding association with Jainism, Rājgir, the birthplace of the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, Munisuvrata, and a favorite resting place during the monsoon of the final Tīrthaṅkara, Mahāvīra,[145] has yielded the oldest Jaina monuments. But no images of any antiquity have been found at nearby Pāwāpuri, the reputed site of Mahāvīra's death,[146] located only a mile from Tetrāwāṅ. However, Champā, that is, modern Bhāgalpur, where Mahāvīra stayed during the course of three monsoons, and the birthplace of his predecessor the twelfth Tīrthaṅkara, Vāsupūjya,[147] has served as a center of Jaina pilgrimage at least since the eighth century, when the oldest surviving stone sculptures there were carved. Six Tīrthaṅkaras from this time were formerly in the Digambara Jaina temple of Champāpur, two miles west of Bhāgalpur, and now are installed in the Digambara Jaina temple of Nāthnagar, three miles west of the city.[148] Their form may be exemplified by the two largest images, both representing Ṛṣabhanātha. One is a standing image (Plate 200) carved from pink sandstone, an indigenous product in spite of its locally reputed South Indian origin. The stocky build and sensitively modeled torso contrasting with the tubular legs suggest that it is contemporary with the standing Neminātha images of Vaibhāra Hill (Plates 183, 184), though this is not such a refined figure. Its face is not especially different from that of the seated Ṛṣabhanātha in the temple. That seated Ṛṣabhanātha (Plate 201) is superbly executed and shows much of the new sensitivity to form apparent in the late eighth century. It is reminiscent of the contemporary Ṛṣabhanātha dedicated by the ācārya Vasantanandi at Rājgir (Plate 182), though it is more heavy-set than that figure, whose artists probably derived inspiration from the images of nearby Nālandā. The polished surface of this image yields a metallic impression, as on many other figures of this era; and the taut surfaces of the torso recall the planar form noted on several figures of the region, though here the flatness of the face is relieved by softly modeled features recalling the Gupta art nearby, for example at Shāhkuṇḍ and on Jahāngīra Rock.

As the distinctive styles of each area now have given way

to a more general style of the region, it is increasingly difficult to assign figures that have been removed from their context to a particular part of Eastern India. Hence, we may suggest only tentatively a Gaṅgā Valley origin for the following Brahmanical sculptures whose provenance was not recorded. Among these is a highly formalized standing Sūrya attended by Daṇḍa and Piṅgala (Plate 202) now in the Brundage Collection, San Francisco. The harsh modeling of the torso recalls the Sūrya from Aphsaḍ (Plate 194), while the overlapping flowers around the border of the halo and the large pendant suspended from the second necklace are reminiscent of the Viṣṇu bust from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 193). But the broad, heavy body and head have their closest counterpart in the British Museum's Kārttikeya discussed below (Plate 203) rather than in any figure of certain provenance.

The three remaining images of uncertain provenance came to the British Museum in a single, very large collection and may have been taken from the same area. One of these is a fine Kārttikeya (Plate 203). The youthful god is seated atop his peacock mount whose tail feathers form the sole decor of the backslab. The figure's broad head and prominent nose recall the Nālandā bronze sculptures cast by the master who produced the seated Mañjuśrī and flag-bearing Bodhisattva (Plates 171, 172), and even the treatment of the body is not unlike that of the two Bodhisattvas by this master. However, differences between the stone and bronze images can be seen — for example, the heavier form of the stone Kārttikeya and the pairs of parallel lines to indicate garment folds — and nowhere in the Rājgir-Nālandā area is a stone sculpture known that conforms closely to this pattern. While it is difficult to identify contemporary images in the Gaṅgā Valley that are very close to this Kārttikeya, one can see how the figure could have evolved from such images as the late seventh-century Viṣṇu of Aphsaḍ (Plate 88) and can note some similarity to the more slender, sensitive Viṣṇu bust from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 193). Moreover, the use of pairs of lines to define garment folds earlier was confined to Bengal, and it is primarily in the Gaṅgā Valley, particularly in the eastern part of it, that we see close affinities with the art of Bengal.

Similar and probably contemporary are a caturmukha liṅga of Śiva (Plate 204) and a lifesize Śiva head (Plate 205), both also in the British Museum. The faces of these images bear a greater resemblance to the Kārttikeya just discussed than to any image whose provenance is recorded. Like the Kārttikeya, they show features that reflect currents apparent in some of the Nālandā bronzes and elsewhere over an area extending from Pachār Hill in the west (Plate 144) to Aphsaḍ and Mahrāwāṅ (Plates 88 and 192) in the east. Although these sites happen to fall within three of the areas isolated in this study, only sixty-five miles separates Pachār Hill from Aphsaḍ, while the distance from Nālandā to Aphsaḍ is only thirty miles. This distance is not great enough to account for a considerable change in style, especially during the eighth century, when works were commissioned in much greater numbers and in many more places. Artists, like others in the newly unified Pāla realm, traveled more widely than ever before to fill the local needs, and transmitted ideas from place to place with unprecedented speed, breaking down the old regional confines of style.

Singhbhūm District

Only a single group of sculptures originating in Singhbhūm District may be assigned to the eighth century. The images of this group generally are accepted as coming from Saraikela, but in fact their precise provenance is not recorded. Whatever their original location, the affinity of these images with the styles of Orissa rather than with the emerging Pāla styles is especially significant at this time, when broad regional styles — and concurrently cultural regions — were becoming more clearly defined and replacing essentially local styles. No doubt the affinity with Orissa was sealed by political and geographical factors, for with the rise of the Bhañja Dynasty, much of Singhbhūm District must have been drawn into their sphere rather than the more northerly realm of the Pālas, separated from Singhbhūm District by the Chotā Nāgpur Plateau. In fact, parts of the modern Singhbhūm District remained with Orissa until recent times; it was not until a year after India's independence that two sections of the district, Saraikela and one other, were transferred from the jurisdiction of Orissa to the authority of Bihar.[149]

This group of sculptures said to come from Saraikela (Plates 206–208) consists of a full set of seven Mātṛkās accompanied by Śiva and Pārvatī and the goat-headed Dakṣa, the latter replacing Gaṇeśa, who more commonly attends the Divine Mothers.[150] The substitution of Dakṣa here poignantly recalls the legendary association of the Śākta cult with Dakṣa's ill-fated sacrifice.[151]

The broad, planar surfaces of these figures, generally more modeled than the flattened style observed in parts of the Gaṅgā Valley at this time, recall contemporary images from parts of Orissa, for example the sculptures of the Vaital Deul at Bhuvaneśvara and the contemporary temples of Mukhaliṅgam.[152] The distinctions from the Orissan styles prevalent closer to the coast should be attributed to that same gradual shift in style over any geographical continuum. Radical stylistic changes, like cultural changes, rarely occur in areas of close proximity; especially in border areas such as Singhbhūm District, features prevalent in the regions on both sides of the boundary should be expected. Thus Pāla affinities have been noted in the sculpture of Khiching, and Orissan characteristics have been observed in temples from southern parts of Bengal.[153]

As for the date of these sculptures, they are considerably

earlier than the twelfth-century date to which they are normally ascribed.[154] Were they so late, we could expect the ossified modeling, pinched features, and lavish, crisply rendered ornament customary in sculpture of both Orissa and Bengal at that time.[155] Instead, the modeling is gentle, a reminder of the Gupta tradition whose vestiges persisted in large parts of Eastern India into the opening years of Pāla authority.

The recorded provenance of these sculptures most likely refers to old Saraikela State, not necessarily to the municipality of Saraikela itself. Strangely, there is no report of any site of real antiquity in the old state,[156] so identifying the original location of the sculptures is difficult. Indeed, we must harbor the suspicion that the images came from Khiching, just across the border in the Mayurbhañj District of Orissa. Although the sculptures remaining in Khiching are later in date, the place was the seat of one branch of the Bhañja Dynasty, which ruled there from no later than the middle of the ninth century. Even earlier artists were active very close to Khiching, as proved by the seventh-century sculptures of Benisāgar, just six miles away. However, it is ultimately of little consequence whether the sculptures originate in Khiching, or on the other side of the modern Bihar-Orissa border, in Singhbhūm District. The images are significant as they document the emerging Orissan style in this area removed from the main currents of trade and pilgrimage in Eastern India. Thus it is likely that they would resemble images produced in the increasingly influential workshops of Orissa.

West and North Bengal

With the establishment of the Somapura Mahāvihāra at the site of Pāhārpur and the contemporary Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra at the site of Antichak, activity in the homeland of the Pālas gained new importance. Both monasteries probably were established by Dharmapāla himself,[157] and the latter site was soon to surpass even Nālandā as the most important monastery in all India. In a sense, by establishing these monasteries, Dharmapāla — perhaps even consciously — emulated his great imperial predecessors, the Guptas, who had provided support for the foundation of Nālandā. Elsewhere in Northern and Western Bengal, the arts flourished as never before. The stimulus may have come from artists imported to work on the monuments of these two monasteries, but it also may have come from the same climate that led to the establishment of these monasteries in the easterly part of the realm rather than in the old Magadhan heartland. Even at Mahāsthāngaṛh, long one of Bengal's premier cities, we see evidence of renewed activity, while at many other sites, single images have been found, probably the surviving examples of comparatively abundant and widespread work.

Although Antichak, now identifiable as the site of Vikramaśīla,[158] is situated within the modern borders of Bihar, the remains are properly treated together with the great Pāhārpur monument, not only because of the geographical proximity to Bengal but more significantly because of the nearly identical form of the stūpas at the two sites. Antichak is located six miles northeast of Colgong in Bhāgalpur District, less than forty miles west of the modern Bengal border, a distance of no real consequence in ancient times, when fixed borders did not exist. The two stūpas (Plates 209 and 215) are almost identical architecturally: Both monuments have a cruciform plan and rise from the earth in the fashion of a stepped pyramid. The great niches facing the cardinal directions today are vacant but originally must have been occupied by enormous images of the Buddha. The dimensions of their plans are also similar, the structure at Antichak, 360 feet from north to south, just three feet six inches longer than the one at Pāhārpur. However, in the arrangement of sculptural decoration, the Pāhārpur stūpa is far more complex. On the Antichak stūpa, the remaining adornment is restricted to a single course of terracotta panels, each approxmately 13 by 11 inches, at the level of the first terrace; on the Pāhārpur stūpa, stone sculptures are located at irregular intervals along the now subterranean basement wall, and terracotta panels are located in one course at ground level and in a second course at the level of the first terrace, where in several places the course consists of two panels, one above the other.

Although these monuments are unique, their precedents may be traced at several places, and their successors attest to their enormous influence, extending far into Southeast Asia. Earlier cruciform stūpas, though rare, are known. For example, a small one is located at Taxila and another at Sārnāth.[159] Also earlier and closer to Antichak and Pāhārpur is the cruciform monument of the Salban Vihāra at Maināmatī,[160] while more in keeping with the colossal scale of the monuments is the enormous cruciform plan Nandangaṛh stūpa in Champaran District, the largest stūpa in Asia.[161] If we may judge from the stone stūpa at the core of the Nandangaṛh structure,[162] the massive stepped monuments at Antichak and Pāhārpur were probably crowned by the familiar bulbous *aṇḍa*. Alternatively they may have been surmounted by a *latina śikhara*, of the sort seen on a bronze *caitya* from the huge Buddhist hoard at Jhewāri in Chittagong District, in Southeast Bengal.[163] The base of the bronze shrine, like these two enormous monuments, is cruciform in plan and tiered in elevation below the level of the niches facing the four cardinal directions.

As for the huge niches of the Pāhārpur and Antichak stūpas, it seems likely that, like the four niches of miniature stūpas found in abundance at almost every Buddhist site in Eastern India, they contained seated images of the Buddha, probably the four Dhyāni Buddhas associated with the car-

dinal directions. Apart from the analogy with miniature stūpas, evidence for the figures in these niches is scant, although in a niche of the Antichak stūpa the excavators found the crossed legs of a huge image made of clay,[164] a material also used at Nālandā for the principal images in several shrines.

Writers have focused considerable attention on the sculptures of these monuments, perhaps more than on the form of the structures themselves. The terracotta panels on both monuments (Plates 210–214, 216–219) for the most part depict informal subjects, most often frolicking figures of the sort seen earlier on the great stone temple plinth at Nālandā Site No. 2 (Plates 73–75).[165] The subject is fitting for the lower levels of a stūpa, beneath the four great niches intended to hold the Dhyāni Buddhas, the level symbolizing the celestial realm.[166] Some Buddha images also are depicted among the terracotta panels. These must represent the mortal Buddha, because the panels are located both literally and conceptually closer to the earth, to a terrestial level of the cosmos. However, among the panels, particularly on the Antichak monument, there are a few with figures more appropriate to a celestial realm. For example, in one place we see three adjacent panels illustrating a meditating Buddha attended by a Bodhisattva on each side (Plate 211), while another panel (Plate 212) illustrates a seated Mañjuśrī. Also perplexing among these Antichak panels is one depicting Ardhanarīśvara, an androgynous form of Śiva (Plate 213). However, the figure cannot be construed as a lone Brahmanical image on a Buddhist monument, as there can be little doubt that the stūpa like its counterpart at Pāhārpur is systematically conceived and rendered. For this very reason, it would be inappropriate to think of the terracotta panels as popular in any way, as many writers have suggested.[167] Neither stūpa was intended as a popular place of worship since both are located in the center of a great monastic complex whose perimeter is lined with cells. Thus they were used in the rituals of the well indoctrinated monks who were carefully instructed in the meaning of every sculptural detail. The artists' background and training dictated only the fashion of carving, but the subject matter must have been part of the overall conception of the monument and was not the result of some artist's fancy.

The terracotta art of these two monuments, as elsewhere in India at all times, keeps pace with both the styles and subjects of contemporary stone sculpture. Although terracotta may have been used in some places and under some conditions for essentially popular worship, where it may have been a domestic craft, it is in every way a master art at the stūpas of Pāhārpur and Antichak, as well as at many other monuments. A quick comparison of the style of some of the more familiar subjects among the terracotta panels of these two monuments will quickly reveal that mastery. For example, a Buddha from the lower course of the Pāhārpur stūpa (Plate 216) is not the least significantly different from stone Buddha images of the seventh and eighth centuries, such as the Tetrāwāṅ figure now in the Indian Museum (Plate 78) and the seated Buddha above the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple (Plate 136). This is also true of a fine terracotta Buddha accompanied by attendant Bodhisattvas from Pāhārpur but now preserved in the Dacca Museum (Plate 219). At Antichak, where the surface of the terracottas appears rougher, probably because of a caustic environment rather than a difference in actual finish, a fine Kinnara of the southwest corner (Plate 214) or a female dancer (Plate 215) may be fruitfully compared with contemporary stone sculptures of Nālandā, such as the female attendants of the newly excavated Nālandā Bodhisattva (Plate 163).

The figures adorning the stone temple plinth of Nālandā Site No. 2 already have been cited as stylistic precedents for the terracotta panels of the Antichak and Pāhārpur monuments. Somewhat more distant in both time and location but nevertheless significant antecedents of these panels are the terracotta plaques set in a frieze running around the upper terrace of the Śiva temple at Ahicchatrā.[168] As Ahicchatrā is located on the Jamunā, the water route could have been a means of eastward transmission of this and other ideas.

The sixty-three stone sculptures of the lowest level of the Pāhārpur stūpa (Plates 220–224), today below ground level, present a more complex problem, as they are placed at irregular intervals and to most writers appear datable just before the construction of the monument. Over forty years ago, S. K. Saraswati published a good summary of the views regarding the Pāhārpur sculptures,[169] and since then little has been written to provide new insights into the material. In essence all the writers are struck by the diverse style and quality of the sculptures and by the Gupta character of many of them.[170] Then taking into account their irregular placement on the plinth of the stūpa and also the inscription dated 459 A.D. found at the site,[171] these writers suggest that the sculptures were taken from an older monument. They support their view by the observation that many of the sculptures depict Hindu subjects and that several of them are poorly fitted into the niches they occupy: In some cases the niches have been enlarged to accommodate the sculptures, while in other cases the space between the top of the sculpture and the top of the niche has been filled in for sculptures that are too small.

Saraswati concluded that the scuptures may be divided into three stylistic groups; he then postulated that only the sculptures of his third group, which primarily consist of popular subjects such as amorous couples and are located principally on both sides of each projecting angle, were part of the original plan of the monument. The sculptures on the intermediate faces of the projections, he suggested, were taken from Brahmanical monuments in the area and added at a later time. Saraswati ascribed his first group to the sixth

century, his second to the seventh, and his third to the eighth century, that is, contemporary with the construction of the monument. In addition, he recognized as essentially different from any of the three groups an image of Padmapāṇi in the middle of the southern wall.[172] More recently, J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has suggested that the sculptures, apart from the Padmapāṇi, should be divided into only two groups, one of the refined sculptures, taken from a late seventh or early eighth-century monument in the area, and a second of cruder sculptures intended for the stūpa itself.[173]

While I acknowledge all of the problems that these sculptures present, including the irregular placement around the plinth, the poor fit of many of them in their niches, and the seeming incongruity of their Hindu subject matter on this Buddhist monument, both practice and style demand that we question the view that these sculptures were taken from an earlier monument in the vicinity. In the first place, close scrutiny of the stylistic groups into which Saraswati has divided the sculptures shows some subtle distinctions within groups and apparent similarities of sculptures placed in different groups. To cite just one example, the Balarāma (Plate 220) of Saraswati's first group is in no significant way different from the Indra (Plate 221) that he assigns to the second group, while the sculptures he places in the third group include no major deities and naturally appear less formally disposed. Moreover, it is hard to imagine the planners of a major monument borrowing wholesale the sculptures of an earlier neighboring monument and then placing them indiscriminately and at irregular intervals around the plinth of their new structure. Doing so serves no apparent purpose. Imagining such borrowing in the course of refurbishing the Pāhārpur monument is no easier. No precedent exists anywhere in India for adapting the sculptures of another monument on such an enormous scale, and even if this adaptation occurred at Pāhārpur, it does not explain the placement of these sculptures in irregularly spaced niches that have been unevenly distributed around the perimeter of the plinth.

In fact, every one of the sculptures can be assigned to the eighth century; the apparent distinctions are far more properly ascribed to the hands of different artists or to differing subject matter that required distinct treatment than to different dates of manufacture. Though Gupta vestiges are apparent in most of the sculptures, so are they in most other Eastern Indian sculptures at the threshhold of Pāla times, attesting to the strong persistence of Gupta traits in the sculpture of Eastern India for many generations longer than in other parts of the subcontinent. These sculptures are more fluid in disposition and subtle in modeling than the works of Devapāla's time such as the Balarāma images from Nālandā and Kurkihār (Plates 177, 178), but they closely resemble the eighth-century imagery of Bengal, such as the magnificent bronze Bodhisattva of Mahāsthāngaṛh (Plate 228) and stand apart from any sixth or seventh-century works of Bengal, such as the Nārhaṭṭa Viṣṇu (Plate 37) and the Kāśipur Sūrya (Plate 105).

That most of these stone sculptures depict Hindu deities need not be credited to an earlier Hindu structure in the area. Rather, it was accepted and canonically prescribed practice to use Hindu images in this position. We have the testimony of the *Niṣpannayogāvalī* describing maṇḍalas in which Hindu deities occupy the outer circle,[174] essentially corresponding to the lower level of a tiered monument; also we have the evidence of later terraced stūpas at Pagan, for example the Shwehsandaw, datable c. 1060, where images of Hindu deities were placed particularly guarding the corners of the terraces,[175] much like the stone sculptures placed on both sides of each projecting angle at Pāhārpur.

The alteration of some niches to accommodate the sculptures in no way proves that they were removed from a monument in the area for use on the Pāhārpur stūpa. Some niches had to be altered simply because the sculptures, like those of any other monuments, are not of uniform size. In fact, the alteration of the Pāhārpur niches is not really unusual, as there are many other Indian monuments whose sculptural adornment does not conform to the space alloted for it. The Gajendra Mokṣa panel of the Deogaṛh temple, for example, is too narrow for its niche.[176] Only when the reliefs are cut in situ, from the fabric of the monument's surface, can we expect a proper match between relief and niche. But these sculptures of the Pāhārpur monument are stone, intended for a brick monument. When a stone niche is modified to accommodate a sculpture carved from matching stone, the change is barely perceptible, but with the contrast between stone and brick on the basement level of the Pāhārpur monument, the modifications are all too evident.

That leaves unexplained only the irregular distribution of the reliefs. There may, in fact, be no obvious explanation for this. But it is impossible to believe that the sculptures of such an important monument were set in place arbitrarily, or that artistic or financial constraints necessitated plundering an earlier monument to acquire the sculptures for the great stūpa of Pāhārpur, the principal monument of a royally endowed monastery.

Only one other architectural monument of Bengal is customarily ascribed to the period of this study, Temple IV of the Begunia Group at Barākar in Burdwān District (Plates 225–227). No one has doubted that the maṇḍapa of this temple is a modern structure, but many have accurately observed that the profile of the temple and its superstructure is notably different from that of the other three temples at the site and that it corresponds closely with the form of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple at Bhuvaneśvara, often dated as early as the seventh century. Thus they have ascribed a date

no later than the eighth century to the Barākar temple.[177] The simple mouldings of the adhiṣṭhāna, the walls carrying a large central niche with a subsidiary niche on each side, and the form of the śikhara are features reminiscent of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, standing in contrast to other temples of Bengal. However, the figural relief of the śikhara belies the early date that the architectural features suggest. Here the sculptures, not confined to candraśālās like the sculptures of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple but disposed along registers corresponding with the *bhūmis* of the temple, were surely made after the Pāhārpur and Antichak sculptures. As the poses of the figures seem a great deal more contorted and the modeling notably harsher, the temple must have been made well into the Pāla period. There is no doubt that early Orissan temples were the source of inspiration and that at least stylistically and probably in actuality this is the earliest remaining temple of Bengal. But contrary to the generally accepted view, its date falls beyond the period of this study. That date is not surprising; we should not expect to find monuments dating as early as the eighth century at Barākar, since the site is a considerable distance from the well-traveled routes frequented at this time. From Barākar to Gayā, any path would have to pass through the hills of Hazaribagh, not along the commonly used natural routes connecting Magadha with the Bay of Bengal. It must have been somewhat later that the Dāmodar River and its tributaries like the Barākar served as important passageways connecting a newly developed inland with the sea.

Mahāsthāngaṛh, whose remains indicate a longer continuous period of occupation than any other city in Bengal, shows the same burgeoning artistic activity near the beginning of Pāla times noted in other parts of Eastern India, although here the number of sculptures is small by contrast to the principal centers of Magadha. Still, the few sculptures provide important insights into the art of Mahāsthāngaṛh. For example, the many bronzes of this site, including a magnificent large Bodhisattva image as well as two bronze sculptures of Viṣṇu and one of Sūrya, suggest that Mahāsthāngaṛh was an important center of metal sculpture, contemporary with the prolific bronze-casting center of Nālandā. Recent excavations at the Bāsu Vihāra of Mahāsthāngaṛh, yielding many small Buddhist bronzes, have confirmed this conclusion, and further excavations at this vast site undoubtedly will reveal still other bronze sculptures.

The superb gilded bronze Bodhisattva (Plate 228) was found accidentally by a farmer in the course of cultivation at the base of a mound known as the Balai Dhāp, in the village of Saralpur on the western outskirts of Mahāsthāngaṛh; the right forearm of this figure had been found a year earlier.[178] Commonly identified as Mañjuśrī because of the figure's varada mudrā and the image of Akṣobhya in the headdress, this sculpture has been assumed to date to the Gupta age and has thus been called one of the earliest images of the Bodhisattva Mañjuśrī.[179] But here, as also in the case of the Pāhārpur sculptures, the Gupta vestiges have deceived writers into believing this to be earlier than it acutally is. While the figure is closer in style to its Gupta-period sources than are the bronze images of Viṣṇu discussed below (Plates 230, 231), that is no reason to assign it to the Gupta age, for it stands a considerable distance from Gupta period figures such as the fine Padmapāṇi from Sārnāth datable near the end of the fifth century.[180] In pose, proportions, and modeling, the figure bears a resemblance to the seventh-century stucco Avalokiteśvara of the Nālandā stūpa (Plate 70), but it is more refined than this sculpture and appears to date somewhat closer to the time of the small eighth-century bronze Avalokiteśvara from Nālandā Site No. 8 (Plate 170). Thus a date of early eighth century seems most appropriate for this bronze Bodhisattva, perhaps the finest sculpture of Mahāsthāngaṛh.

In spite of de Mallmann's identification of the figure as Mañjuśrī,[181] that is not really certain. The lotus once held in the Bodhisattva's left hand is missing, so there is no way to tell if it was Mañjuśrī's characteristic blue lotus, and the image of Akṣobhya in the figure's headdress is not unique to Mañjuśrī.[182] Moreover, this Bodhisattva lacks the kākapakṣa coiffure, large cakra earrings, and necklace with vyāghranakha pendants common to images of Mañjuśrī, such as those illustrated in Plates 71, 164, 166, and 171. Instead, Avalokiteśvara is more likely the correct identification of this figure, for the iconographic details correspond closely with those of the contemporary stone image from Nālandā illustrated in Plate 162: Both figures, more sparsely adorned than Mañjuśrī customarily is, have the right hand in varada mudrā and show an image of Akṣobhya in the similarly fashioned *jaṭā mukuṭa*.

A second bronze Bodhisattva (Plate 231) said to be from Mahāsthāngaṛh, also indiscriminately assigned a Gupta date when acquired by the Varendra Research Museum,[183] similarly may be assigned to the eighth century but near the end of the century. This small four-armed figure, unadorned except for the yajñopavīta, probably also represents Avalokiteśvara, although he neither holds the customary pink lotus nor has the identifying meditating Buddha in the tall jaṭā mukuṭa. The figure's form corresponds to that of eighth-century bronze sculptures from Nālandā like the seated Buddha illustrated in Plate 169, but the motifs of the throne more specifically indicate a date just before Devapāla's accession. For example, both the double lotus on which the figure is seated and the flame-encircled halo are rare before the eighth century, and the form of the throne back, reminiscent of the one used for such Nālandā bronzes of this time as the Avalokiteśvara from Site No. 8 (Plate 170), is also used for the Balarāma of Devapāla's ninth year (Plate 178), but the concentric bands of the halo are here replaced

by a full-petaled lotus, widely favored later for bronze sculptures in Bengal.[184]

Recent excavations at the Bāsu Vihāra, four miles northwest of Mahāsthāngaṛh, have unearthed a large number of small, heavily corroded Buddhist metal sculptures, many of them probably contemporary with the two Bodhisattva images discussed above;[185] these figures testify to the many bronze sculptures commissioned for the monasteries of Mahāsthāngaṛh. In addition, three Brahmanical bronzes, two of Viṣṇu and one of Sūrya, also probably originate at Mahāsthāngaṛh and date just before the time of Devapāla, in the early years of the ninth century. Of the two Viṣṇu images, there is little doubt about the origin of one (Plate 230) at Mahāsthāngaṛh.[186] The other (Plate 231), recently acquired by the British Museum, is so similar that its reputed Bogra District provenance may be confirmed, and there Mahāsthāngaṛh seems the most likely site of origin. The figures stand erect on similar *tri-ratha* pedestals with Garuḍa at the center. The bottom of each pedestal is flush with the surface on which it stands as common in the bronzes of Bengal, not raised on feet as typical of the bronze sculptures of Magadha. The halo and throneback of the figures are similar in design, common to those used for other eighth-century bronze images especially in Bengal, where broad, ribbonlike devices connect the main image with the attendants and uprights of the throneback; this design may be seen, for example, on the Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal (Plate 252) or the cruder Viṣṇu from Kumārpur (Plate 239). The elongated, slender form of these figures continues an earlier tradition of Bengal, seen first in the late seventh-century Deulbāḍī Sarvāṇi (Plate 113), although several features show a later date. For example, the hands holding the mace and wheel are raised to shoulder level, not extended downward as usual through the eighth century, and the personifications of these two attributes have been replaced by two female figures, probably representing Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. In addition, the Viṣṇu in the Victoria and Albert Museum wears two necklaces, like the Balarāma of Devapāla's time from Kurkihār (Plate 178), and also like that figure has a stippled decoration on the lower garment.

The third Brahmanical bronze figure, the image of Sūrya, is in a private Bombay collection and could not be reproduced here. Although its provenance is not recorded, the figure shares much in common with the two bronze Viṣṇu images and so probably originates in the same area. Like these two figures of Viṣṇu, the image of the solar deity appears tall and slender. Behind his head is a similar disk-like halo with a large finial and decoration confined to the outer portion. Daṇḍa and Piṅgala bend sharply outward, their heads also placed against essentially undecorated haloes from whose tops emerge the upright members of the throneback. The faces of Sūrya and his attendants appear rectangular, like the faces of the two Viṣṇu images, although the heads of this sculpture are heavier, recalling the contemporary Viṣṇu from Kumārpur (Plate 239) in adjacent Rājshāhi District. Thus the origin of this Sūrya in North Bengal, if not precisely at Mahāsthāngaṛh, seems certain.

Only two stone sculptures in the area, one excavated on the outskirts of Mahāsthāngaṛh and the other found at a site just seven miles away, may be assigned to the eighth century. The one excavated on the edge of the city is a standing Buddha (Plate 232) from the Bāsu Vihāra. The figure customarily is assigned to the Gupta period,[187] no doubt because of its reminiscences of the late fifth-century Sārnāth style; but a comparison with the Sārnāth image found at the ruined monastery of Bihārail (Plate 36) in Rājshāhi District will quickly show that this small Buddha is not merely a provincial variant of the highly refined Gupta style of Sārnāth, but a later version of that style, whose impact was long felt throughout Eastern India. During Gupta times, the artists of Mahāsthāngaṛh were no provincial craftsmen, as the superb terracotta Sūrya (Plate 41) from the site shows. This Buddha image, however, more closely resembles the eighth-century Buddha standing beside the entrance to the Mahābodhi temple (Plate 141), though it is executed with little of the Bodhgayā Buddha's refinement. The stance of the figure and the left hand raised to shoulder level, as well as the disproportionate hands and feet and harsh modeling, most clearly recall its eighth-century Magadhan counterparts. In addition, this Buddha stands on a double lotus, popular during the eighth century, and is attended by a kneeling devotee, perhaps the donor, uncommon before this time.

To this same date we may assign the Gaja-Lakṣmī (Plate 233) brought seven miles from Namunja to the Mahāsthān Site Museum. Following a common pattern, the goddess stands erect, holding a lotus stem in the left hand and a bilva fruit in the right; elephants standing on full-blown lotus flowers shower her with water from pots held in their trunks. Though recently assigned to the sixth century,[188] the image more likely was made during the eighth century, since the figure of Lakṣmī retains little of the free form maintained even into the seventh century. Few contemporary female images remain with which this figure can be compared, although the eighth-century Mātṛkās from Saraikela (Plates 206, 207) are not far removed in style. However, the stiff stance and angular modeling may be more closely related to some of the male figures from the Gaṅgā Valley, for example the Viṣṇu from Dāpthū (Plate 190) or the contemporary image from Jahāngīra Rock at Sultānganj (Plate 196). Only the attendants pouring coins from pots, reflecting the elephants showering Lakṣmī with water, retain vestiges of the soft modeling common earlier, but that is not enough to suggest a date as early as the sixth century.

These are the only two stone sculptures from the vicinity

of Mahāsthāngaṛh that may be assigned to the eighth century. But even during the succeeding centuries, when the artists of Bengal produced infinitely more stone sculptures than during pre-Pāla times, the number known from Mahāsthāngaṛh is small even by contrast to sites of lesser importance in Rājshāhi and Dacca Districts. This may simply reflect a predilection of the local population, but more likely it is a result of Mahāsthāngaṛh's distance from the quarries that produced the widely favored Rājmahāl Schist. Of the two figures discussed above, only the standing Buddha is carved from the characteristic dark gray schist used almost universally by this time in other parts of Eastern India. The Gaja-Lakṣmī image is carved from a light gray sandstone, and Rājmahāl Schist was not used for any of the earlier stone sculptures of Mahāsthāngaṛh.

The remaining eighth-century sculptures of Bengal, like the earlier images, were found at scattered sites, mostly close to the main thoroughfares connecting such principal cities as Mahāsthān and Tāmralipta with Magadha. Many of these sculptures were found in areas with no evidence of earlier artistic activity and thus must be the products of workshops newly established in places whose population only now required images. The style and motifs of these sculptures are by no means distinct to Bengal, indicating a developing common basis for the art of Eastern India as the Pāla Dynasty united the territory and facilitated trade and travel.[189]

Sculptures from the district of Dināǰpur nicely illustrate the widespread appearance of styles and motifs. Though no site there has yielded sculptures dating before the eighth century,[190] several images of this time and the opening years of the ninth century have been found in Dināǰpur District. One is a standing Viṣṇu from the village of Khiarmahmūdpur (Plate 234), now in the Dacca Museum. Erect and fully modeled in a manner reminiscent of the images at the Dharmāraṇya and Gayā (Plates 149 and 157), this Viṣṇu has a halo whose border is decorated with motifs almost identical to those used in other parts of Gayā District, for example on the halo of a Viṣṇu from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 192) and later exactly replicated in the sculpture of Gayā District.[191] Other details, too, such as the ringlets of hair falling along the shoulders, show a striking similarity to the Mahrāwāṅ Viṣṇu. However, one feature of the sculpture is distinctly different from any contemporary Viṣṇu of Magadha but like at least two other eighth-century Viṣṇu images from Bengal, the stone figure from the Kākadīghi at Ekdala[192] also in Dināǰpur District and the bronze image from Kumārpur in Rājshāhi District (Plate 239). That feature is the pair of male āyudhapuruṣas. One of these is clearly the Cakrapuruṣa, the personification of the wheel, familiar since Gupta times. The other appears to be an unusual masculine personification of the mace, since this weapon stands beside the small male figure to the Viṣṇu's proper right; the mace also is held by the small male figure to the left of the Kumārpur Viṣṇu and implied behind the head of the male figure to the right of the Kākadīghi Viṣṇu. It is difficult to explain the male personification in place of the customary Gadādevī, although it may result from the emergence of a regional language, a proto-Bengali, without the gender emphasis of Sanskrit. Whatever the explanation, the phenomenon was short-lived, as this figure was quickly replaced by the Saṅkhapuruṣa, the personification of the conch, widely shown attending Viṣṇu during most of the Pāla period in Bengal and also in Magadha.

Related in form though not so finely executed are the small Viṣṇu images from the Kākadīghi[193] and Karaicharchar (Plate 235). The former was noticed by S. K. Saraswati among several sculptures beside a temple plinth at the Kākadīghi, a tank in the town of Ekdala, though I have been unable to trace its present location. In form it may be related to eighth-century examples from Magadha such as the smaller Viṣṇu from the Dharmāraṇya (Plate 150), but instead of the more common full prabhāvali behind the figure, there is a circular halo and below this a rather broad rectangular backslab that appears to fan out at the top. That form is more closely associated with the backslab of some bronze sculptures, for example the Śiva from Manirhāt[194] and the Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal (Plate 252), than with stone sculptures whose backslab usually is not much wider than the figure. The second of these small Dināǰpur Viṣṇu images, the one from Karaicharchar (Plate 235), is unfinished, so only the essential appearance of the figure can be traced, though it is remarkably close to a standing Viṣṇu (Plate 236) from Gazole in the adjacent Mālda District. In every way, from the low relief form to the proportions and detail of dress and ornament, this buff sandstone figure from Gazole resembles the contemporary Karaicharchar Viṣṇu.

A comparable similarity may be seen between the Khiarmahmūdpur Viṣṇu and a small Viṣṇu which was once housed in the Raṅgpur Sahitya Pariṣad.[195] The piece is now lost and its provenance was not recorded, though presumably it was collected from Raṅgpur District, immediately to the east of Dināǰpur District. Just as in Dināǰpur District, in Raṅgpur District no sculptures of earlier date remain, so the tradition from which this sculpture evolved cannot be traced locally. Since this small figure is an isolated example, the only eighth-century sculpture known in Raṅgpur District, it may have been imported, perhaps from a site in Dināǰpur District. But whether the object itself was transported or whether an artist came eastward to Raṅgpur District makes little difference; the presence of the image there suggests the development of another new area during the eighth century — an area that in subsequent generations became an extremely important center of sculpture, especially of bronze sculpture. In the newly unified Pāla realm, routes, often best documented by art historical evidence, were developed for

trade but also were conduits for the travel of artists and the transmission of their ideas.

Further evidence for the newly emerging, often highly skilled workshops in this area is provided by a Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu image (Plate 237) from Agradīgun in West Dināj pur District and now in the Asutosh Museum. In certain details, such as the pattern around the prabhāvali and the design of the garland, the sculpture has features identical to those of the Khiarmahmūdpur Viṣṇu. However, in other details it seems more evolved and probably later, perhaps even dating as late as the time of Devapāla, just beyond the period of this study. The modeling presents a tenser surface, pairs of lines are used to indicate garment folds, and the crown is no longer strictly cylindrical but anticipates the faceted form that became popular throughout Eastern India during the height of the Pāla period.

Just a mile and a half from Agradīgun, at Enda, the wheel carved with male figures against each side (Plate 238) provides additional evidence for the emerging prominence of this area. Comparable figures made over a wide area of Eastern India from Gupta times onward (Plates 38, 91–94, 153, 154) have been used for the capital of a dhvajastambha for a Viṣṇu temple, probably one provided by a royal endowment.[196] Though the temple at Enda remains to be discovered, it more than the capital of its emblem post would show the extent of artistic activity there. This productivity in the vicinity of Agradīgun and at several other places nearby began in the early Pāla period, although no previous sculptural tradition is known anywhere in the Dināj pur area. It continued with even greater vigor through the next several centuries.[197]

The massive undertaking at Pāhārpur must have so dominated the vicinity during the time of Dharmapāla that little was produced at other sites. Thus at only one other site in Rājshāhi District is a sculpture known that may be assigned to the eighth century, the final period of this study. That is the rather inelegant bronze Viṣṇu (Plate 239) from Kumārpur, a site that also has yielded a stone Sūrya dating to the Gupta age (Plate 13). Further west, probably along the route running from Mahāsthāngaṛh through Rājshāhi District and onward to the principal cities of Magadha, there is an eighth-century Mahiṣamarddinī from Gaṅgārāmpur and a Viṣṇu from Gazole, both in Mālda District, today in West Bengal; from a site still further west along this route, Sakrigali, actually across the River Gaṅgā in Bihar but at the very gateway to Bengal, comes an especially sensitive female figure, probably part of a doorframe moulding.

The bronze Viṣṇu from Kumārpur[198] (Plate 239), now housed in the Varendra Research Museum, shows many similarities to eighth-century sculptures of Bengal like the Viṣṇu in the British Museum said to be from Mahāsthān (Plate 231). Thus its date is certain, but it is sufficiently different in both detail and quality that it must be a local product, not imported from some well-known center. Reminiscent of the bronze Viṣṇu in the British Museum are the uprights of the throne-back, emerging directly from the haloes of the Viṣṇu's two male attendants, as well as the shape and composition of the halo behind the deity's head. However, the torso, which all too closely reflects the angular form of the great garland, marks this figure as a provincial work, significant for its undoubted eighth-century date, but nevertheless the work of an outlying school. The image then suggests that bronze sculptors were not confined to one or two major centers in Bengal. Also, in spite of the generally small size and hollow cast technique of these bronze images that made them more easily portable than their stone counterparts, there is no reason to presume that they were not always produced locally at the site of their discovery.

Further westward at Gaṅgārāmpur in Mālda District, a gray sandstone image of Mahiṣamarddinī (Plate 240) was found. While the surface is much mutilated, enough of Durgā's body remains to reveal a sensitive modeling not greatly differing from that of the Khiarmahmūdpur Viṣṇu (Plate 234). However, it must date before the accession of Dharmapāla, because the brief inscription on the pedestal begins with the name of a Rājaputra who also held the title *Bhaṭṭaraka*; but it mentions no paramount sovereign, as would be customary in any dedicatory inscription of Pāla times. This inscription is said to be written in seventh-century characters,[199] but that is too early for the sculpture. Not only does the figure style suggest an eighth-century date, but also the form of letters, for example *ja*, dates after the seventh century, even later in the eighth century than the time of Jīvitagupta II. It is, in any event, earlier than a sculpture of the same subject from Lakṣmīpur in Rājshāhi District recently acquired by the Varendra Research Museum.[200]

New activity in the area is further indicated by a Viṣṇu from Gazole, also in Mālda District (Plate 236). It was carved about the same time as the Mahiṣamarddinī from Gaṅgārāmpur, although from Mālda District, only one known image dates earlier than these two sculptures, the Hāṅkrail Viṣṇu (Plate 12). But from the end of the eighth century onward, workshops at several sites, as also in Dināj pur and Rājshāhi Districts, produced a large number of sculptures, many of them now displayed in the extensive collection of the Mālda Museum.

Only a single sculpture, a fragment of a doorway moulding (Plate 242), is known from the very important site of Sakrigali in Santal Parganas District, a town on the Gaṅgā that served as the main point of passage between Magadha and Bengal. The moulding suggests that a temple once stood at Sakrigali, not surprising as this transit point gained prominence during early Pāla times by serving travelers who now moved with increasing frequency between Bengal and Magadha.[201] The graceful pose of the elegant female figure in the relief, without any trace of the contrived stance

of most figures of this date like the Aparājitā from Pachār (Plate 144), has led most writers to associate it with the Gupta style.[202] However, the strong linear treatment of the accouterments and especially the sharp chiseling of the facial features give clear indication of an eighth-century date. The coiffure is seen in the contemporary Pachār Aparājitā and other sculptures of the time, but the elongated eyes and sweeping brows are more akin to the style of Kanauj than to any indigenous Eastern Indian physiognomy.[203] Though unusual, it is not surprising to see influence from so far west, particularly during the time of Dharmapāla, when the old imperial capital of Kanauj assumed symbolic importance to the foundation of Pāla imperial authority.

Sakrigali also probably was significant to the ancient route connecting Magadha with Tāmralipta, for there the course must have turned southward. The evidence for the direction of this route through Bengal is sketchy, neither Fa Hsian nor Hsuan Tsang having described their passage along it. However, the route most likely adhered to the principal waterways — from Sakrigali south along the Gaṅgā to its confluence with the Bhagīrathī River, and then further south along this river until it becomes the Hooghly, and finally to the port of Tāmralipta. On this route, in the heart of Murśidābād District lay the seventh-century capital of Gauḍa, whose remains have been associated with the Rājbāḍīdāṅgā, and Sālār, the provenance of a symbolically important double-sided cakra ascribed to the sixth century (Plate 38). Here also in Murśidābād District was Jalabandha, where among the sculptures piled in a mound was found a Viṣṇu torso (Plate 242) that may be assigned to the eighth century, the only sculpture there datable so early. Tall and slender, with a physique not unlike that of the Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal (Plate 252), this figure wears an unusually long lower garment, extending almost to the ankles and marked with striations to suggest folds, a fashion later followed but only seldom and then principally in this part of Bengal.[204]

Further south, from an unspecified site in Burdwān District, comes another eighth-century sculpture, an image of Hari-Hara (Plate 243). This sculpture, too, is badly damaged, though it obviously conforms well to the characteristic eighth-century style prevalent over a large part of Magadha and Bengal, with fully modeled body and broad face, not significantly different from the form of the larger Dharmāraṇya Viṣṇu (Plate 149). A second necklace with a pendant supplements the ekāvali, but that is seen on several other images dating just before Devapāla's time, for example a Viṣṇu from Mahrāwāṅ (Plate 192). The beaded border around the prabhāvali is a conservative feature, normally replaced during the eighth century by a flame motif, though it is occasionally retained at this time, as seen on the prabhāvali of the early eighth-century Umā-Maheśvara at the Dharmāraṇya (Plate 148).

From a site close to the end of the route leading toward Tāmralipta is the small bronze image of Śiva collected at Manirhāt in 24 Parganas District, now in the collection of Ajit Ghose.[205] The simple design of the sculpture may be seen in many contemporary stone and bronze sculptures from Bengal, such as the Viṣṇu from the Kākadīghi at Ekdala[206] and, significantly, a small Viṣṇu (Plate 244) from Khulna District, just east of 24 Parganas District. However, in certain specific details, for example the form of the throne-back, the sculpture has no parallel, making it difficult to trace the origins of this style. Nevertheless it is tempting to look for the sources eastward along the coast toward Samataṭa, where abundant bronze images, such as the fine Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal and the metal sculptures from Maināmatī, provide evidence of highly skilled bronze workshops. With regard to the possible transmission of artistic ideas westward from Samataṭa, Hsuan Tsang's route is particularly interesting. He claims to have traveled to Tāmralipta from Samataṭa, although his route on this part of the journey is not specified.[207] As an overland passage would have been virtually impossible, requiring almost constant river crossings, a sea voyage close to the coast would have provided the best connection between Samataṭa and this part of Bengal, that is, ancient Vaṅga.

Southeast Bengal

During the eighth century a new ruling house, the Deva Dynasty, succeeded the Khaḍgas as rulers of Samataṭa. Their reign was short, corresponding almost precisely with the rule of Gopāla and Dharmapāla in the far vaster Pāla realm.[208] Like their early Pāla contemporaries in power over the rest of Eastern India, the Devas were Buddhists and in their inscriptions also designated themselves paramasaugata, devout worshippers of the Buddha. As evidence of their faith, this ruling family made grants to support new construction at Maināmatī, while at other places in their realm, primarily Buddhist sculptures are known.

At the Salban Vihāra, the most important site in the Maināmatī Hills, patronage from the Deva Dynasty provided for major reconstruction. The arrangement of this vihāra resembles the monasteries at Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla, with a quadrangle of monks' cells forming the perimeter of the monastery, and at the center a great shrine oriented to the north and cruciform in the earliest phase of its plan.[209] This monastic plan is common in Bengal, quite different from the arrangement at Buddhist monasteries even in other parts of Eastern India, for example Nālandā, and outside of this region as well. As an inscription indicates a sixth-century date for the earliest phase of the Salban vihāra,[210] it must be an antecedent of the monasteries at both Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla. Following its establishment, the Salban Vihāra underwent subsequent phases of con-

struction, one during Khaḍga times and a major one during Deva rule. This extensive phase is attested by four inscriptions, probably confirming endowments to the monastery, issued during the reign of the fourth Deva monarch, Bhavadeva.[211] Significantly, one sealing found at the site indicates that the monastery was known as Bhavedeva Mahāvihāra, much as the name of Dharmapāla, the principal patron of Pāhārpur, was adopted for that monastery.[212]

Only the lower part of the monastery's central shrine still stands (Plate 245), although enough remains to show that it underwent a major change in form, probably during the reconstruction associated with Bhavadeva's time, when a rectangular temple replaced the original cruciform-plan monument. A single course of terracotta panels adorns the plinth just below the level of Bhavadeva's reconstruction (Plate 246). Hence these panels may date a great deal earlier than the long courses of comparable panels that adorn the monuments at Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla. The subject of these panels is also most often an animal or frolicking figure, although the execution is rarely as vital as that apparent on the other two great monuments. One of the excavators of this site has observed that the clay was first allowed to dry before the panels were carved so that the technique is more akin to stone carving than clay modeling.[213] This would support the view that the same artists worked in both media and might help explain the paucity of stone sculpture in Bengal when terracotta was widely used, before the height of the Pāla period and once again after Sena times.

More than fifty sites have been identified on the Maināmatī Hills, but almost every one of the bronze sculptures of the area, totaling almost a hundred, was recovered from the Salban Vihāra.[214] Their findspot is not surprising, since elsewhere too bronze sculptures are preserved primarily in monastic cells. Unfortunately a recent theft at the Site Museum has removed many of the best bronzes, and few had been documented with photographs. However, among the bronzes that remain, several (Plates 247–250) reveal significant local features essentially restricted to southeast Bengal. Most unusual of these is an elevated pedetal composed of the common rectangular base with a large central lotus stalk and caryatid figures at the side supporting a raised base on which the deity sits. This elevated mount is anticipated in the two seventh-century stone plaques from the Koṭilā Murā stūpas of Maināmatī (Plates 111, 112). The prabhāvali is generally plain, except for decoration around the border that includes flames spaced at wide intervals instead of the more customary ring of continuous flames used elsewhere on Eastern Indian bronzes. The figures themselves are modeled with remarkable sensitivity. The easy pose and supple body of both a Mañjuśrī (Plate 247) and Padmapāṇi (Plate 248) reveal the artist's skillful ability to render the human body, while the fine details of their features and accouterments, with none of the bold form and abundant richness seen in the Nālandā bronzes, imply a jeweler's touch.

Among these bronzes, the special popularity of Mañjuśrī is notable. Most of the images of this deity show his typical iconographic traits such as the book upon a blue lotus, the kākapakṣa coiffure, and customary jewelry, but two Mañjuśrī images show especially uncommon features. One (Plate 247) is seated in the *ardhaparyaṅka* or *mahārājalīlā* pose, the right arm resting on the upraised right knee and the hand in no identifiable mudrā. A pose of extraordinary ease, contrasting with the more common *lalitāsana* of seated Mañjuśrī images,[215] the figure fully embodies the royal character of this Bodhisattva. A second image of Mañjuśrī (Plate 249) from the Salban Vihāra shows the preaching Bodhisattva accompanied by a pair of attendants, while above is a large image of the meditating Buddha Amitābha. Far more often, Mañjuśrī is associated with Akṣobhya, the earth-touching Buddha commonly worn in the headdress.[216] Only rarely is he associated with Amitābha,[217] though here is evidence that such an association is not a late development. This bronze, like the earlier pair of stone plaques from the Koṭilā Murā, illustrates the forms developed at Maināmatī that often depart from more customary standards of Eastern Indian Buddhist iconography.

The bronze image identified as Sitātapatrā (Plate 251), discovered at an unspecified site in Comilla District and now in the Dacca Museum,[218] corresponds closely to the Maināmatī type and may originate at some site on these hills. Seated on an elevated pedestal with a halo at the back encircled by widely spaced flames, this eight-armed goddess is not iconographically duplicated elsewhere. The figure does not conform precisely to textual descriptions of Sitātapatrā,[219] though one cannot easily identify the image with any other deity, and so like the plaques from the Koṭilā Murā stūpas, the sculpture underscores the unusual and complex iconography of the Buddhist imagery in this part of Eastern India. By contrast, the contemporary sculptures of Nālandā leave little doubt about their identity.

No wonder then that an image identified as syncretistic,[220] joining the features of a Buddhist and Hindu deity, should be found in Southeast Bengal. This sculpture (Plate 252), now in the Asutosh Museum, comes from Barisal, across the wide Padma River from Comilla District. Except for the small meditating Buddha on the lotus that rises from the figure's *jaṭā mukuṭa*, this sculpture shows all the common features of the Brahmanical god Śiva. He holds a trident in the left hand and a rosary in the right. The phallus is erect, a third eye is indicated on the forehead, and the hair is worn in Śiva's usual manner. Moreover, his bull Nandī is shown in front of the lotus pedestal, and Gaṇeśa appears on his right. While ostensibly a syncretistic image, it may not be so in a literal sense, but rather a Buddhist image of Śiva.

If that is the case, then this is by no means the first time we have encountered traditional Brahmanical deities in a Buddhist context, as many others contemporary with this image are known at Nālandā and Pāhārpur. What distinguishes this figure from those others is that there it was the context suggested that the images were Buddhist, while here the god's Buddhist character has been made explicit, as Śiva has been assigned a *kula* or family affiliation just like a Bodhisattva. While certain Bodhisattvas, the Dhyāni Bodhisattvas, are viewed as emanations of particular Buddhas, indicated iconographically in the headdress, other Bodhisattvas, such as Mañjuśrī, are simply associated with a particular Dhyāni Buddha as if to suggest their lineage and make them conform to the system. The same may have been attempted when Śiva was brought into the Buddhist pantheon. That is, he required a family affiliation and was assigned to Amitābha.

As for the form, the extraordinarily slender body of this figure is not at all unusual for this part of Bengal and recalls still earlier images of the area such as the Deulbāḍī Sarvāṇī (Plate 113). The essentially open throne back and halo are distinguished from the type common at Maināmatī and throughout much of Eastern India, although they may be related to one of the earliest sculptures in the remarkable hoard of Buddhist bronzes from Jhewāri in Chittagong District,[221] also in Southeast Bengal.

Finally, a large bronze Lokanātha (Plate 253) from Bandarbazar in Sylhet town,[222] among the only sculptures of any period from this part of Bengal, is rendered in a style closely related to that of the bronze images of Samataṭa. This excellently cast figure stands tall and slender, recalling the earlier bronze Sarvāṇī from Deulbāḍī (Plate 113). A more refined and delicate figure than the Nālandā bronzes of the eighth century, it appears closer to the bronzes of Maināmatī, particularly a Mañjuśrī from this site (Plate 247). Also recalling the sculpture of southeast Bengal are several features shared with the Śiva-Lokeśvara from Barisal — the tapered form of the legs, the sharp distinction between the waist and thighs, the narrow hips, and minor details such as a small pendant suspended from the single strand of beads forming the necklace. These similarities are not particularly surprising, as Sylhet District borders on Comilla, where the sites of the Maināmatī Hills are located, and the Meghna River facilitated travel between outlying monasteries at places such as Bandarbazar and the important cities of Samataṭa. Moreover, Sylhet probably lay within the Deva realm, since epigraphic evidence shows that it formed part of the territory of their successors, the Candras.[223]

Summary

If one thing above all can be said about the art of the period covered in this chapter, the threshold of Pāla times, it is that the local distinctions of style begin to vanish. Although it may appear fatuous to draw correlations between historical developments and the formal expression of individual artists, the breakdown of local styles seems to be more than coincidental. Even in Shāhābād District, where the earlier monuments had most closely resembled styles prevalent to the west, the images from sites such as Deo Baruṇārk and Deo Markaṇḍeya bear closest resemblance to sculptures across the River Son in Gayā District. Only the absence of Buddhist remains persists, though that does not result from the preference of the artists but rather from the absence — for whatever reason — of any Buddhist sanctuary there.

Earlier it was possible to draw a distinction between the Sārnāth-inspired sculpture of Nālandā and the art of Bodhgayā, whose heritage may be traced to Mathurā. However, at this time the distinction begins to break down. At Nālandā we see some black schist images that clearly betray the hand of an artist trained in the more characteristic Magadhan fashion, for example the Mañjuśrī illustrated in Plate 166, while at Bodhgayā the pose of a standing Buddha illustrated in Plate 141 follows the common form of Sārnāth imagery.

Other significant changes as well were taking place at this time. For one, the sculpture produced at Nālandā is no longer architectural adornment but free-standing imagery. Among the stone figures, some are even larger than life-size (see Plate 162), but especially important are the small bronze sculptures found in abundance at Nālandā and at many other sites. Earlier bronze sculptures in Eastern India, or anywhere in the subcontinent, are few, but from the threshold of Pāla times we find large numbers of bronzes at sites in all parts of Eastern India, including both North Bengal and Samataṭa. Their appearance coincides with the growth of bronze casting workshops in other parts of India, for example in Kashmir and South India.

Additional developments at the threshold of Pāla times, roughly corresponding with the eighth century, include the establishment of very important Buddhist monasteries and the dedication of many Brahmanical images (curiously the earliest that remain) at the ancient pilgrimage town of Gayā. All over Eastern India, the quantity of stone sculptures surviving from this time is far greater than from any earlier time, and the number of places at which they are found is comparably greater.

In some ways the Pālas are directly responsible for the changes in art that took place about the time they rose to power. Dharmapāla lavished support on the monasteries at Pāhārpur and Antichak, thereby contributing to the surge of sculptural production apparent during his reign. Furthermore, as artists probably came from all parts of the realm to work on the monuments of these monasteries, that might have helped contribute to the breakdown of local

styles. But from greater distances than before they also came to Nālandā, Bodhgayā, and many other sites. For this, too, the Pālas must be credited, though more indirectly.The territory was once again unified as it had been under the Guptas, facilitating travel over a wide area. As peace prevailed after the first half of Dharmapāla's reign, travel must have been secure, so we may presume that there was more frequent as well as more extensive travel. Even travel primarily for trade would have helped stimulate the breakdown of long-standing cultural confines. But artists too traveled along these routes, and as the monuments show, they traveled widely. Moreover, pilgrims also used the routes, probably in greater numbers than before. Some of them undoubtedly dedicated images, much as pilgrims to Bodhgayā had earlier provided images for the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment,[224] and these offerings help explain the unprecedented production of images.

The logic is tenuous, but additional reasons may be suggested for crediting the first Pāla kings for the changes in art that coincide with their rise to power. In the first place, if the motivating force was not these rulers, who or what could be responsible? The simple passage of time is inadequate to explain the great surge of activity and dissolution of local styles that occur about the time the Pālas came to power. In the second place, evidence from a somewhat later time shows their effect on art. That evidence comes from Samataṭa, where stone sculpture is hardly ever seen so long as the area remained independent of Pāla rule. Terracotta plaques were found at the Salban Vihāra, and bronze sculptures, rather distinctive in style, were found in great numbers there. But black schist images were introduced only when Pāla authority extended to this part of Bengal, as if the medium were their trademark. No black stone image in Samataṭa may be assigned a date earlier than the Gaṇeśa figure bearing an inscription of Gopāla II,[225] and among the only other black stone images from Southeast Bengal are two with inscriptions of Mahīpāla.[226] Hence, if a new medium could be introduced to Southeast Bengal with the extension of Pāla dominion in the tenth century, doubtless other changes could be wrought by this dynasty's rise to power in all other parts of Eastern India during the eighth century.

The remarkable changes much more indicate a new vitality than the establishment of a new school. Neither great productivity nor the elimination of apparent boundaries that had confined certain styles to a limited area within Eastern India need to be explained by the establishment of a new school. Rather, the forms which we see at the threshold of Pāla times result from the long and continuous evolution traced in the preceding pages.

CHAPTER 5

Concluding Remarks

At the outset of this study, I questioned the traditional division of Indian art according to the ruling dynasty, concluding that although dynastic divisions may have the potential for greater precision than the stylistic divisions customarily used in the history of Western art, they focus attention primarily on works carved during the reign of a major ruling house; they tend to neglect works of art made during intervening times, conveying the impression that styles flourish with the fortunes of a ruling family. Yet in the final chapter we note repeatedly the great impact that the Pālas made on the history of art in Eastern India. The old localized styles gradually disappear, giving way in large measure to a style that extended across Eastern India. Though I avoid the term, "Pāla style" would be more appropriate to describe the prevailing fashion, or perhaps "Pāla styles," keeping in mind the evolution through the generations of the Pāla Dynasty and the subtle variations of form and motif maintained by each workshop.

What then of the intervening centuries? During the long span between the age of the Guptas and the accession of the Pālas, there was neither a political nor artistic vacuum; the formal changes in imagery most dramatically apparent near the beginning of Pāla times have their roots in the art of earlier centuries. Before the extension of Pāla rule across Eastern India, the region was divided among several ruling houses, and essentially localized styles are rather easy to discern. The developments of Shāhābād District were distinct from those near Nālandā and Rājgir, which, in turn, were distinct from the developments of Gayā on one hand or Bengal on the other. Hence, the divisions of the chapters was essentially style-based. But flux was apparent from the outset and not strictly the result of dynastic change. For example, the Kuṣāṇa-Mathurā based style of the Chausā bronzes and the Bodhgayā Buddha of the year 64 was quickly rejected in favor of indigenous styles, even while the Gupta Dynasty remained in authority.

Having stated that the region was not politically unified during the years between the Guptas and the Pālas, we may ask whether political dominion in and of itself ever determines cultural boundaries or, in the history of art, whether formal changes are determined by political events. The answer must be, not precisely, for a government can never impose a cultural identity. But a government, a ruling dynasty in the case of India, can do two things enforcing or facilitating the transmission of such manifestations of culture as artistic styles. In his role as patron, the emperor can bring artists from one part of the realm to another, perhaps across long-standing cultural boundaries, thus enforcing change. Jīvitagupta, for example, probably did this at Deo Baruṇārk and thereby brought an end to the long-standing dependence of Shāhābād District artists on inspiration from Vārāṇasī. Dharmapāla too may have brought artists to work on his monasteries of Vikramaśīla and Somapura in the Pāla homeland, and thus extended Magadhan culture to it. But in addition to such direct enforcement of change, a government can simply create the environment conducive to extensive travel within the realm, and that atmosphere insures the transmission of ideas. Furthermore, when the economic climate is right, private patronage is available for monumental undertakings that draw artists from one part of the realm to another.

If a ruling house assumes such an important role in bringing about artistic development, how can we explain the changes apparent in nondynastic art from intervening years? In a way, there is no such thing as nondynastic art, because a ruling dynasty always exists, however small its territory and insignificant its name. But when the extent of a dynasty's realm is small, three things happen. First, the cultural

alignments often transcend customary regional boundaries. This we see in the early art of Shāhābād District, where the sculpture was based on Vārāṇasī models; and subsequently at the threshold of Pāla times at sites in Western Uttar Pradesh, where the emerging Eastern Indian style served as the model. Second, the number of works produced is reduced, a factor of an economic climate in part caused by the absence of a powerful royal patron. Third, and especially important to the art historian, the dedicatory inscriptions on the works of art fail to acknowledge a reigning monarch or to provide any other indication of date, making the task of plotting the evolution of art during these periods extraordinarily difficult and at best imprecise. That is the problem we encounter during the declining years of Kuṣāṇa times or during the transition period between the Kuṣāṇas and Guptas. More than a matter of an altered dating system, as van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has so ably shown, it is the absence of any monarch's name in the inscriptions that makes the problem of plotting the development so very difficult. The same problem pertains in Eastern India following the Gupta age. Although several important rulers extended their authority over large parts of Eastern India, none remained in power long enough to assume a role of ultimate authority, superseding local rulers, and lend his name to a widely accepted method of reckoning time. The Muṇḍeśvarī temple is associated with an inscription assigned to the year 30 of a Harṣa era, but significantly the temple has much more in common with monuments from Harṣa's homeland in Uttar Pradesh than with monuments in Eastern India. As for Ādityasena, whose subjects maintained the era of his family's old enemy, Harṣa, only one known sculpture is dated to his reign, and that has been lost. An inscription of one of his successors, Jīvitagupta, remains at Deo Baruṇārk, but no sculpture can be unquestionably associated with it. I have assigned some images from the site to his time, but that is purely a hypothesis, the same that governs the overall development postulated in this book. The development is, in other words, a working model, to be tested with the discovery in the future of additional dated material. New discoveries are likely to support the overall stylistic development proposed in the preceding pages, as well as the stylistic groupings by area within Eastern India and the apparently increased activity during Dharmapāla's time. These aspects of the art, too, are part of the model proposed for continued examination.

Dynastic divisions, then, seem well suited to the Indian situation despite their inherent weaknesses, which must always be recalled. They acknowledge the direct and indirect roles that a monarch assumes in stimulating artistic production, and also the system of reckoning time customarily used in dedicatory inscriptions. In addition, dynastic divisions help explain the uneven artistic output, extensive at some times and meager at others. The uneven production of monuments should not suggest, as dynastic divisions of the history of art might, that no imagery was produced in the absence of a major ruling house, but only that less is produced than during the time of a powerful dynasty.

Geography as well as politics plays a role in determining artistic styles, though the two are related, as it was often geographical features that kept certain areas of Eastern India out of the mainstream of dynastic developments in the rest of the region. This was the case with Shāhābād District, separated from the rest of Eastern India by the River Son. Until it was drawn into the Magadhan sphere by Jīvitagupta II, the artistic style, even the choice of stone, remained distinct from other parts of Eastern India; and still after that time, not a single Buddhist sculpture may be seen in the entire district in spite of its position on the pathway of Buddhist pilgrims. Rivers as well make Samataṭa difficult to reach from other parts of Eastern India, so it is not surprising that it was ruled by a series of indigenous dynasties until its accession by the Pālas around the tenth century. Unique iconographic schemes were developed in Samataṭa, and the method for construction of stūpas in that part of Bengal must have been imported by sea from the Andhra country, not derived from anywhere else in Eastern India. Assam, on the other hand, simply stood so far from the rest of Eastern India, and except for the Brahmaputra Valley is largely hilly and inaccessible. Thus with the exception of a brief time during the reign of an aggressive king with far-reaching aspirations, Bhāskaravarman, who actively sought to link his realm with kingdoms to the west, the territory remained isolated, as remote politically and culturally as it is geographically. At the same time, the great river Gaṅgā served as a powerful unifying force to Eastern India. A route for the travel of men and the transmission of their ideas, this river united Eastern India. What we might call the heartland of the region is really the country that lay close to the river, not the geographic center of Eastern India. Only in one place was the river route curiously avoided, near Pāṭaliputra, long the capital of great Indian dynasties and a cultural center of the entire subcontinent. It is art historical information, largely the absence of any significant remains dating later than Gupta times at Pāṭaliputra, together with the accounts of Chinese travelers, that shows a southward shift of the main route, circumventing Pāṭaliputra. Hence, from Vārāṇasī, the route moves due east, essentially following a path corresponding with the modern Grand Trunk Highway as far as the city of Nawādā, where the route shifted northward, back to the river. As the evidence of literature and the monuments suggest that this southern area was far more important than Pāṭaliputra, it is hard to believe that the political center was not located here along this route. This is but one of several routes easily documented during the period of this study. The importance of many of these routes persists into modern times, as they remain principal pathways for rail and road transportation through Eastern India.

NOTES

Abbreviations Used in the Notes

AR of the ASI,BC	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Bengal Circle*
AR of the ASI,CC	*Annual REport of the Archaeological Survey of India Central Circle*
AR of the ASI,EC	*Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle*
ASI, AR	*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*
Banerji, *EIMS*	R. D. Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933)
Cunningham, *ASR*	Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* (Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871–1887)
EI	*Epigraphia Indica*
Fleet, *CII*	John Faithful Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and their Successors*. Vol. III: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1888)
HCIP	R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vols. I–V (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951–1957)
IHQ	*Indian Historical Quarterly*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*
JBORS	*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*
JBRS	*Journal of the Bihar Research Society*
JISOA	*Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*
JRAS	*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*
JUPHS	*Journal of the Uttar Pradesh Historical Society*
Majumdar, *HB*	R. C. Majumdar, ed., *History of Bengal*, Vol I (Dacca: University of Dacca, 1943)
MASI	Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India
Saraswati, *ESB*	S. K. Saraswati, *Early Sculpture of Bengal* (Calcutta: Sambodhi Publications, 1962)

Notes

CHAPTER 1 *Introduction*

[1] The dates of Pāla kings and monarchs of other dynasties whose rule falls within the scope of this book have yet to be firmly established. For the sake of consistency, I am following the well-reasoned dates determined by B. P. Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha* (Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1954).

[2] Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya, trans., *Tāranātha's History of Buddhism in India* (Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study, 1970), p. 348.

[3] R. D. Banerji, *EIMS*, p. 18.

[4] Pranabrajan Ray, "On History of Image-Makers," in Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, p. 446.

[5] R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas* (Benares: Banaras Hindu University, 1933), p. 172.

[6] Banerji, *EIMS*, pp. 16–17, 21, 24–26.

[7] Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 347–348.

[8] For the Buddhist view of Indian geography, see Binayendra Nath Chaudhury, *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India* (Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1969), pp. 1–11, and also the section on geography below.

[9] Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 138–139.

[10] I am indebted to Susan Huntington for the observation that the gray stone commonly used in Magadha is quarried in the Gayā area, while the darker, denser stone from the Rājmahāl Hills is more commonly used in Bengal and Bhāgalpur District in the eastern part of Bihar.

[11] S. K. Chatterji, "Bengali," in *HCIP*, V, pp. 357–358.

[12] Admittedly, we can only surmise how the artists worked, their relation to a patron, and their travel. Documentary evidence regarding the artist is notably scarce.

[13] It is not certain that the bhuktis were identical to the traditional janapadas. Perhaps R. C. Majumdar, *HB*, vol. 1, p. 22, states the distinction most clearly when he calls the janapadas the "chief traditional political and geographical divisions," and the bhuktis "administrative units." Whatever the arrangement, it is not significant to this study; our purpose is to use some commonly acceptable name to identify the subdivisions of Eastern India. We know from inscriptions that bhuktis were the largest administrative division, notably smaller than the modern states, and they were divided into *viśayas* that, in turn, were divided into *maṇḍalas*.

[14] Sinha, *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. xiii–xvi. The janapada Aṅga, essentially Bhāgalpur District, was by the fourth century an integral part of Magadha.

[15] Majumdar, *HB*, vol. I, pp. 10–28.

[16] For the new districts of Bihar, see Joseph E. Schwartzberg, ed., *A Historical Atlas of South Asia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978), p. 263.

[17] B. B. Lal, "An Examination of Some Metal Images from Nālandā," *Ancient India*, 12 (1956), pp. 53–57.

[18] Here the dynastic terms Śuṅga and Andhra are used to suggest approximate time periods without strict regard to the geographic extent of the dynasty.

[19] *ASI,AR*, 1918–1919, plate IXb.

[20] A. Banerji-Sastri, "Śuṅga Sculpture from a Patna Mosque," *JBORS*, XXIII, 4 (1937), pp. 498–501. Following Banerji-Sastri. P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities* (Patna: Patna Museum, 1965), p. 18, ascribes the sculpture to the second century B.C., which seems too early. Other sculptured uprights that appear to come from the same railing are also now in the Patna Museum, numbers 8430 and 8484, although they are not listed in the *Catalogue*.

[21] L. A. Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna)* (Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903), plate III.

[22] Saraswati, *ESB*, pp. 98–102 and plate XVI. See also his long footnote 9, pp. 110–111, regarding the history of the image.

[23] See also pp. 73–75 for a discussion of the movement of artists versus the transport of images.

[24] For an especially good discussion of the role of sects in the introduction of Buddhist image worship, see H. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India* (Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966), pp. 97–110.

[25] *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1957–1958, plate LXXXVII.

[26] John Marshall, "Rajagṛiha and Its Remains," *ASI,AR*, 1905–1906, pp. 105–106.

[27] *ASI,AR*, 1913–1914, p. 74. A couple of architectural fragments in the Patna Museum, both from Kumrahar, numbers 4440 and 4441, may be imported from Mathurā.

[28] Banerji, *EIMS*, p. 13. He does not identify the sculpture, and I have seen none at Bodhgayā which I consider an import from Mathurā. If it is the Bodhgayā Buddha of the year 64 to which he refers, I consider it a local product, not an import, as explained in the next chapter. See pp. 9–20.

[29] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, pp. 161–162, plate XLVII. I do not know the present location of this image. Also Hajipur in Muzaffarpur District is said to have yielded a Kuṣāṇa railing that I have not seen and so cannot say with confidence whether it is an import from Mathurā or a locally sculptured work. *ASI,AR*, 1918–1919, p. 32.

Notes

[30] However, Saraswati, *ESB*, pp. 114–115, presents some good though not ultimately convincing evidence to indicate that only the stone was imported from Mathurā.

[31] For example, P. L. Gupta, "Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire," *IHQ*, XXIX,3 (1953), p. 207, says, "It is a matter of common knowledge that Indian art during the Kuṣāṇa period developed in Gandhāra and Mathurā only. No local art is known flourishing at Banaras and Magadha. Had there been so, we naturally would have had some specimens of that art in the local Chunar and Rājmahāl stones."

[32] See, for example, a sculpture in the Victoria and Albert Museum illustrated by Jean Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā* (Paris: Éditions G. van Oest, 1930), plate XII. A similar figure, still unpublished, is in the Mathurā Museum, Acc. No. M4.

[33] *Ibid.*, plates XVII and XIX.

[34] *Ibid.*, plates XLIa and XXXVb, respectively.

[35] Number 6353, not included in the *Catalogue*.

[36] Numbers 5571–5572, 5574–5576, and 5577. Waddell, *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna)*, plate I, This railing probably dates near the beginning of the first century.

[37] Number 4438. Described in Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 25.

[38] One of the Chausā Tīrthāṅkaras, an image of Pārśvanātha, has been dated as early as the first century B.C. by U. P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes* (Bombay: Department of Archaeology, Government of Bombay, 1959), p. 20, plate 1b. However, it has little in common with figures of that time such as those of the Sāñci gateways. Among those that may be dated late in the Kuṣāṇa period is the Tīrthaṅkara illustrated in Plate 7; see p. 18.

[39] Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "Some Important Sculptural Acquisitions of the Patna Museum," *JBRS*, LIII (1967), pp. 157–159, and P. L. Gupta, "Ekanaṁśa and Her Images," *JBRS*, LIV (1968), pp. 229–244. See below, pp. 18–19.

[40] Saraswati, *ESB*, pp. 11–15.

[41] *Ibid.*, figure 2.

[42] D. R. Bhandarkar, "Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahastḫan," *EI*, XXI (1931), pp. 83–91. For fuller discussion of the inscription, see also B. M. Barua, "The Old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān," *IHQ*, X (1934), pp. 57–66.

[43] Number 42.2949.4. Illustrated in Sherman E. Lee, ed., *Ancient Sculpture from India* (Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964), plate 54.

[44] N. P. Joshi, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow* (Lucknow: State Museum, 1972), figures 38–39.

[45] For the Buddhist centers, see Chaudhury, *Buddhist Centres in Ancient India*, pp. 194–224; for the Hindu centers, see S. M. Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India* (Berkeley: University of California Press 1973). For one center in Magadha that was more important to the Jainas than often realized, see A. Banerji, "Jaina Antiquities in Rajgir," *IHQ*, XXV, 3 (1949), pp. 205–210.

[46] A. S. Altekar, "Buxar Hoard of Kushana Coins," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XII, 2 (1950), pp. 121–123, contends that the hoard supports Chinese evidence that Pāṭaliputra fell within the Kuṣāṇa realm. Further support for this view is given by A. Banerji, "Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire," *IHQ*, XXVII, 4 (1951), pp. 294–303. However, the contrary position is taken by Gupta, "Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire," pp. 205–221.

CHAPTER 2 *The Gupta Age*

[1] S. R. Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas* (Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1967), pp. 40–54. Also see Basudeva Upadhyay, "Prayāga — The Capital of the Guptas," *JBRS*, LVII (1971), pp. 11–20.

[2] Goyal, pp. 94–99. That the Licchavis were probably rulers of Magadha as well as North Bihar prior to the marital alliance is suggested by several factors. See *Ibid.*, pp. 50–53.

[3] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 47–52.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 34–36.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 139–142. For the identification of Canada, the king mentioned in the inscription, see Goyal, pp. 201–209, who identifies the king with Samudragupta, and G. R. Sharma, "Chandra of Mehrauli Pillar Inscription," *IHQ*, XXI, 3 (1945), pp. 202–212, who identifies the king with Candragupta II.

[6] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 47–52. The inscription is on a pillar that has been removed to the Patna Museum; it is currently on the ground floor.

[7] The inscriptions have been newly translated in John Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 1 (1963), pp. 10–26.

[8] Radhagovinda Basak, "The Five Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period, *EL*, XV (1919–1920), pp. 113–145.

[9] Compare Dāmodarpur plates No. 1 and 2 of the time of Kumāragupta I, in which the head of the Puṇḍravardhanabhukti, Cirātadatta, was called an uparika, with Plates No. 3 and 4, in which the holders of the office, Brahmadatta and Jayadatta (in the two plates respectively), are called *uparika-mahārāja*. By the time of the fifth plate, probably 544 A.D., the head of Puṇḍravardhana *bhukti* is given the imperious title *uparika-mahārāja-rājaputra-deva-bhaṭṭārika*, though it is possible that he was, in fact, the emperor's son.

[10] Krishna Deva, "Nalanda Seal of Vishnugupta," *EI*, XXVI (1941–1942), pp. 235–39.

[11] Dinesh Chandra Bhattacharyya, "A Newly Discovered Copperplate from Tippera," *IHQ*, VI, pp. 45–60. This monarch is also known from a seal at Nālandā: See Hirananda Sastri, *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*, MASI, No. 66, p. 67, who suggests that "The Guptas of Magadha and Bengal must have formed a separate house to which Vainyagupta belonged." This is probable in light of the fact that the seal of Vainyagupta does not list the king's geneology as do other royal seals found at Nālandā.

[12] F. E. Pargiter, "Three Copper-Plate Grants from East Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXIX (1910), pp. 193–216.

[13] Though by no means certain, this may be inferred from the inscriptions of Anantavarman from the Barābar and Nāgārjuni Hills, discussed below.

[14] H. A. Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms* (Cambridge: University Press, 1923), p. 47.

[15] *Ibid.*, pp. 49–51.

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 53.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 45–48.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–56.

[19] See below, pp. 19–20.

[20] Giles, p. 65.

[21] Within the stūpa at Sultānganj was found a silver coin of Candragupta II together with one of Rudrasena III, who had been defeated by Candragupta. See Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. X, p. 127.

[22] Giles, pp. 65–66.

[23] See below, pp. 33–34.

[24] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 221–228.

[25] Edward A. Pires, *The Maukharis* (Madras: B. G. Paul, 1934), pp. 51–53. However, Rajendralala Mitra, "Some Considerations on the History of Nepal," *The Indian Antiquary*, XIII (December, 1884), p. 428, comments that the inscriptions are "written in characters a little later than those of the Guptas."

[26] For literary evidence regarding the decline of the Ājīvikas by the Gupta period, see A. L. Basham, *History and Doctrines of the Ājīvikas* (London: Luzac, 1951), pp. 161–186.

[27] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. I, p. 47.

Notes

[28] S. Siddhanta, "The Jagdishpur Copper Plate Grant of the Gupta Year 128 (A.D. 447–48)," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, I, 1 (1972), pp. 23–37.

[29] Radhagovinda Basak, "Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the [Gupta] Year 128." *EI*, XXI (1931–1932), pp. 78–83.

[30] Although the date was originally read as 129, it should be 128. See K. N. Dikshit, "A Note on the Dates of the Gupta Copper Plates from Damodarpur." *EI*, XVII (1923–1924), p. 193.

[31] *ASI,AR*, 1934–1935, p. 42, plate XIX (b–d).

[32] K. N. Dikshit, "Paharpur Copper-Plate Grant of the [Gupta] Year 159," *EI*, XX (1929–1930), pp. 59–64.

[33] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[34] Basak, "The Five Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period," pp. 137–141.

[35] Although the date was originally read as 214, it should be 224. See Dikshit, "A Note on the Dates of the Gupta Copper Plates from Damodarpur," p. 193.

[36] Basak, "The Five Damodarpur Copper-plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period," pp. 141–145.

[37] D. C. Sircar, "Kokāmukha-tirthā," *IHQ*, XXI (1945), pp. 56–60.

[38] D. C. Bhattacharyya, "A Newly Discovered Copperplate from Tippera," pp. 45–60.

[39] Dikshit, "A Note on the Dates of the Gupta Copper Plates from Damodarpur," p. 193.

[40] See p. 26.

[41] James Harle, "Late Kusan, Early Gupta: A Reverse Approach," in Norman Hammond, ed., *South Asian Archaeology* (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1973), pp. 231–240.

[42] Compare, for example, the Jaina images illustrated in J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949), figures 45–49, 63–64.

[43] It is surprising that no writer records such a large sculpture in situ. However, the name of Mahābīr Ghāṭ may have been derived from this very image, as the local population would have recognized it as Jaina without being aware of the iconographic features that distinguish one Tīrthaṅkara from another. Such nineteenth-century surveyors as Buchanan-Hamilton and Cunningham, who explored the archaeological remains in the vicinity of Patna, make no mention of it.

[44] This is generally assumed to indicate an image of the Digambara sect, although there is evidence indicating that during the Kuṣāṇa period, and probably during the Gupta age as well, followers of both the Digambara and Śvetāmbara sects dedicated nude images. U. P. Shah, "Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and the Earliest Known Śvetāmbara Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, I (1950–1951), pp. 30–40.

[45] G. S. Gai, "Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XVIII, 3 (March, 1969), pp. 247–251.

[46] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 21–25.

[47] R. C. Agrawala, "Mātṛkā Reliefs in Early Indian Art," *East and West*, XXI, 1–2 (March–June, 1971), pp. 79–89.

[48] P. L. Gupta, *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1972), pp. 29–31.

[49] K. P. Jayaswal, "A Note on A Terracotta Ramayana Panel of Gupta Period, and on Śikhara Temples," *Modern Review*, LII, 2 (August, 1932), pp. 148–150.

[50] H. K. Prasad, "Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum," *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume* (Bombay: Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, 1968), pp. 275–289.

[51] Vincent A. Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā* (reprint ed.; Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1969), plate XC.

[52] Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, plate XX, No. Arch. 6538 and plate XIX, No. Arch. 6554.

[53] Cf. the standing Tīrthaṅkara illustrated in van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, figure 64, for this and other late Kuṣāṇa features. The Tīrthaṅkara dedicated by Sthirā, illustrated in text figure 23 of van Lohuizen-de Leeuw's book is an example with the palms more clearly turned outward. See also the Ṛṣabhanātha of the fourth century illustrated in A. Ghosh, ed., *Jaina Art and Architecture*, vol. I (New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974), plate 47b.

[54] Herbert Härtel, "Die Kuṣāṇa-Horizonte im Hügel von Sonkh (Mathura)," in Herbert Härtel and Volker Moeller, eds., *Indologen-Tagung*, 1971 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), figures 13 and 18.

[55] The chapter "North Indian Metal Images" in Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, pp. 13–25, discusses most of these. See also B. N. Sharma, "Indian Bronzes," *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume (1973), pp. 311–326.

[56] V. S. Agrawala, "The Terracottas of Ahichchhatrā," *Ancient India*, 4 (1947–1948), pp. 167–171.

[57] See, for example, p. 97.

[58] Gupta, "Ekānaṁśā and Her Images," pp. 241–243. These figures are distinctly different from a mutilated Kuṣāṇa relief of the Ekānaṁśā trio found at Mathurā. It is best seen in a line drawing published by N. P. Joshi, "Devī Ekānaṁśā-ki Kuṣāṇakālīn Mūrtiyān," *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, I (March, 1968), p. 24, figure 1.

[59] V. S. Agrawala, "Brahmanical Images in Mathurā Art," *JISOA*, V (1937), pp. 122–130.

[60] J. C. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974), plates 13 and 14.

[61] For example, an image from Sultānpur, U.P., illustrated in A. K. Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art* (London: Edward Goldston, 1927), figure 222.

[62] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 8.

[63] Harle, "Late Kusan, Early Gupta: A Reverse Approach," plates 17.3 and 17.4.

[64] These monuments may have been placed along routes that connected Ujjain and other places with Prayāg. Nevertheless, they are scattered and for the most part located in areas without older artistic traditions, hence suggesting newly transient groups of artists.

[65] The inscription identifies the figure as a Bodhisattva. However, since the sculpture clearly represents the Buddha, we shall refer to it as such in the text and understand the meaning of Bodhisattva in the inscription, as van Lohuizen-de Leeuw has sensibly proposed for Kuṣāṇa images with a similar dichotomy between inscription and iconography, namely that the word Bodhisattva should be understood literally and translated as "he whose essence is perfect knowledge." *The "Scythian" Period*, pp. 178–179.

[66] Ramprasad Chanda, "The Mathura School of Sculpture," *ASI,AR*, 1922–1923, p. 169.

[67] *Ibid.*

[68] Ludwig Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929), p. 104, and Benimadab Barua, "A Bodh-Gayā Image Inscription," *IHQ*, IX, 2 (June, 1933), pp. 417–419.

[69] Stella Kramrisch, "Die Figurale Plastik der Guptazeit," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kultur-geschichte Asiens*, VI, 15 (1931), pp. 15–17, suggests the Kalacuri era as most appropriate to this Buddha image and an Umā-Maheśvara image from Kauśāmbī, but there is no evidence that the era was used so early or, for that matter, anywhere in Eastern India.

[70] Bachhofer, *Early Indian Sculpture*, p. 104.

[71] *Ibid.*, plate 81.

[72] S. E. Lee, ed., *Ancient Sculpture from India* (Cleveland: Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964), plate 78.

[73] Elsewhere I have presented the arguments in greater detail. F. Asher, "Bodhgayā Image of the Year 64: A Reconsideration," *JBRS*, XLVII (1972), pp. 151–157.

Notes

[74] Cf. the Buddha images illustrated in van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, *The "Scythian" Period*, figures 39–40.

[75] van Lohuizen-de Leeuw believes that the type of image wearing a thick garment covered with stylized folds was introduced about the year 50 of the Kuṣāṇa era and existed side by side with the older type for only a decade before becoming the exclusive form of representing the garment. *The "Scythian" Period*, p. 181.

[76] A Gupta standing Buddha recently found at the site of Govindanagar in Mathurā wears a garment unmarked by folds, but unlike the earlier fashion, both shoulders of this Buddha are covered.

[77] Territories almost adjacent such as Samataṭa, Davāka, and Kāmarūpa are described in Samudragupta's Allāhābād inscription as being on the frontier of the empire. Fleet, *CII*, p. 114.

[78] Saraswati, *ESB* pp. 12–14.

[79] By the fifth century and probably somewhat earlier, Viṣṇu images generally have the back hands on either the mace and wheel or on the heads of their personifications, the āyudhapuruṣas, which are placed at ground level. This, for example, is the form followed for the Viṣṇu images on the facade of the Udayagiri cave associated with the inscription of 401/02. Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 8.

[80] John M. Rosenfield, *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), figures 43 and 44.

[81] A head of Śiva from Dināǰpur illustrated by Saraswati, *ESB*, figure 2, is grouped by the author with the Sūrya images of Kumārpur and Niyāmatpur and the Viṣṇu from Hāṅkrail among the pre-Gupta sculptures of Bengal. I, however, find it difficult to associate this figure with any pre-Gupta or Gupta style.

[82] Ramprasad Chanda, "Jaina Remains at Rajgir," *ASI,AR*, 1925–1926, p. 125.

[83] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 11.

[84] I have often noticed that subsidiary figures have been rendered by a second hand, usually less accomplished than the one responsible for the main image. However, in the case of the Neminātha, the difference between the main figure and the pedestal figures is more one of style than of quality. The heads of the pedestal figures had been destroyed when I first visited the site in 1969.

[85] Wayne Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel: The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra* (New York: New York University Press, 1973), p. 45, identifies the figure as a personification of the Jaina *dharmacakra* and thus follows the view of U. P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art* (Benares: Jaina Cultural Research Society, 1955), p. 14.

[86] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 13. Compare especially the pot-bearing figure beneath the images of Gaṅgā and Jamunā.

[87] John Marshall, "Rājagṛiha and Its Remains," *ASI,AR*, 1905–1906, p. 98, dates the inscription to the third or fourth century, while on p. 166 of the same report Bloch is quoted as dating it to the second or third century. I doubt that this represents a difference of opinions; the discrepancy is more likely due to a casual reporting of the view of whichever scholar, in fact, carefully studied the inscription.

[88] U. P. Shah, "Muni Vairadeva of the Son-Bhaṇḍār Jaina Cave — Rājgir," *JBORS*, XXXIX, 4 (1953), pp. 410–412.

[89] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. I, pp. 25–26.

[90] Theodor Bloch, "Excavations at the Maṇiyār Maṭh," *ASI,AR*, 1905–1906, pp. 103–105. Surprisingly, this report hardly mentions the apsidal temple, concentrating instead on the drum with its stucco figures.

[91] John C. Huntington, "The Lomās Ṛṣi: Another Look," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVIII (1974–1975), figures 2 and 3, illustrates plans and elevation drawings of two sanctuaries for comparison.

[92] For the Gupta date of Nālandā's foundation, see below, pp. 26–27.

[93] B. C. Law, *Rājagṛiha in Ancient Literature*, MASI, No. 58, p. 5. See also pp. 33–35 for other literary references to the association of Nāgas with this site.

[94] Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *Rājgir* (Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1956), p. 23. The image is now in the National Museum of India, accession number 49.151.

[95] Herbert Härtel, "The Apsidal Temple No. 2 at Sonkh," in J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J.M.M. Ubaghs, *South Asian Archaeology 1973* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), pp. 103–110.

[96] This is precisely what John Marshall speculated soon after the Maṇiyār Math was excavated. "Rājagṛha and Its Remains," *ASI,AR*, 1905–1906, p. 98.

[97] The term was introduced by J. N. Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956), pp. 541–545, and now is generally accepted.

[98] *Ibid.*, pp. 541–542. The *pañcāyatana-pūjā* was observed in Maharashtra and described by M. Monier Williams, *Brahmanism and Hinduism* (London: John Murray, 1891), pp. 410–416. C. Sivaramamurti, *Some Aspects of Indian Culture* (New Delhi: National Museum of India, 1969), p. 66, comments that this is the customary household worship of the Smārta Brahmans in South India. However, a comparable ceremony curiously seems to be unknown in North India, where the so-called pañcāyatana liṅgas have been found.

[99] U. C. Bhattacharya, *Catalogue and Guide to the Rajputana Museum Ajmer* (Jaipur: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, 1961), pp. 16–17 and plate II.

[100] R. C. Agrawala, *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum* (Jaipur: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, 1960), plate XV.

[101] This arrangement reflects a *śloka* in the *Śiva Purāṇa* that extols the worship of the liṅga over anthropomorphic images (Vidyeśvara Saṁ. 16.8).

[102] It remains unpublished.

[103] Alice Getty, *Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 171.

[104] The image is unpublished.

[105] For example, Bloch, "Excavations at the Maṇiyār Maṭh," p. 105, and Sheila Weiner, "From Gupta to Pāla Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 2/3 (1962), p. 173.

[106] Such as an Avalokiteśvara now in the National Museum, New Delhi, illustrated in Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 7.

[107] Hardly a quarter century separates the relatively heavy-set images based strongly on the Mathurā style and the mature Gupta images of the characteristic Sārnāth style. Compare the images illustrated in *Ibid.*, figures 9 and 1, for examples of the style around 450 and 475, respectively.

[108] Others would disagree. See Susan L. Huntington, *The Origin and Development of Stone and Bronze Sculpture in Bihar and Bengal, ca. 8th–12th Centuries* (Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles, 1972), Plates 3 and 14.

[109] Hirananda Sastri, *Nālandā and Its Epigraphic Material*, MASI, No. 66, pp. 8–14.

[110] Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, p. 49.

[111] Samuel Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki; Buddhist Records of the Western World* (London: Trubner, 1884), vol. II, p. 177. It seems likely that Fa Hsian's identification of Sariputra's village as Nālandā is the result of a mistranslation or a later interpolation.

[112] *Ibid.*, p. 168.

[113] Goyal, p. 294.

[114] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 69.

[115] *Ibid.*, p. 77.

[116] *Ibid.*, p. 100.

[117] Goyal, p. 294.

[118] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 105.

[119] Goyal, pp. 321–324.

[120] Hirananda Sastri, "The Clay Seals of Nālandā," *EI*, XXI, 2 (April, 1931), pp. 72–77.

Notes

[121] The development of this temple is described in an excellent and thoroughly documented study by Prudence R. Myer, "The Great Temple at Bodh-Gaya," *Art Bulletin*, XL, 4 (December, 1958), pp. 277–298. Myer believes that the change in the temple's orientation took place during the Kuṣāṇa period.

[122] Theodor Bloch, "Notes on Bodh Gayā," *ASI,AR,* 1908–1909, pp. 153–154.

[123] For the Mandasor Sculptures, see Joanna Williams, "The Sculptures of Mandasor," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI (1972–1973), pp. 50–64.

[124] Ananda K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā* (Paris: Éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1935), plate XXXII.

[125] Benimadhab Barua, *Gaya and Buddha-Gaya* (Calcutta: Indian Research Institute 1934), p. 55. For the report of Śaśāṅka's reputed desecration of the temple see Beal, trans., *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 121–122.

[126] Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodhgayā*, pp. 47–48.

[127] For example, almost identical dvārapālas, holding triśūlas and with the *trinetra* marked vertically on the forehead, are seen on the Pārvatī temple at Nāchnā-Kuṭhārā. See Odette Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964), plate 16.

[128] Myer, p. 286, cites a Kharoṣṭhī inscription on the upper edge of the stone as evidence for ascribing the date of its relocation to the Kuṣāṇa period.

[129] The state of the temple in the nineteenth century and its restoration are recorded by Alexander Cunningham, *Mahābodhi* (London: W. H. Allen, 1892).

[130] The Indian artist made a charming adaptation of the classical palmette motif; treating it as though it were a bush, not a hieratic floral motif, he integrated the more familiar Indian haṁsas by making them peck at its base.

[131] Compare especially the gaṇas in architectural members identified as coming from the superstructure of the Bhumārā temple. Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum* (Poona: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1971), plates LVIII and LIX.

[132] R. D. Banerji, *Basreliefs of Badami*, MASI, No. 25, plates XVb and XVII.

[133] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 274–278.

[134] Bloch, "Notes on Bodh Gaya," pp. 153–154.

[135] Literally "perfumed hall," the word *gandhakuṭī* is generally taken to mean dwelling place of the Buddha. See H. C. Norman, "Gandhakuṭî — The Buddha's Private Abode," *JASB*, N.S. IV (1908), pp. 1–5.

[136] A copperplate inscription of Samudragupta was found at nearby Gayā, but the authenticity of this epigraph has been doubted. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 254–257. Literary evidence points to some activity at the site in the intervening years, but it is probably an inaccurate report. According to the seventh-century Chinese pilgrim Wang Hsuen-ts'e, Ceylonese pilgrims visited Bodhgayā during the reign of Samudragupta. Sylvain Lévi, "Wang Hiuen-ts'e et ses missions dans l'Inde," *Journal Asiatique*, N.S. XV (1900), pp. 316–317. However, Wang is probably mistaken in assigning such an early date to these Ceylonese pilgrims, since one of the two he mentions, Mahānāman, is known from a sixth-century inscription discussed below to have lived long after Samudragupta's time. In all probability, Wang, having heard of Mahānāman, rather arbitrarily assigned him a date.

[137] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 278–279.

[138] *Ibid.*, pp. 281–282. The inscription is on a sculptured pedestal, all that remains of the image, now preserved in the Indian Museum, Acc. No. B.G. 119. For a description of the pedestal, see John Anderson, *Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum* (Calcutta: Trustees of the Indian Museum, 1883), Part II, p. 54.

[139] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plates 47, 48, and 52.

[140] *Ibid.*, plate 55. D. C. Sircar, "Date of the Mankuwar Buddha Image Inscription of the time of Kumāragupta I," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, III (1969–1970), pp. 133–137, recently has suggested a revised reading of the date that would correspond with A.D. 428. In addition, the figure recalls a Buddha of the very early fifth century found at Govindanagar in Mathurā. This Buddha also wears a garment unmarked by folds, the only Gupta Buddha of Mathurā thus draped.

[141] Compare, for example, the well-known Buddha from the Kaṭra Mound. Bachhofer, plate 81.

[142] Kuraishi, *Rājgir*, p. 23.

[143] Only very rarely do patrons note their place of origin in inscriptions at Sārnāth. For the epigraphs of sculptures at this site, see Daya Ram Sahni, *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath* (Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1914).

[144] D. B. Spooner, *AR of the ASI,EC*, 1914–1915, p. 57, in discussing the excavations at Kumrahar, identifies as terracotta the material of a head that is in all probability this one. Following Spooner, Muhammad Hamid Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected Under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa* (Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1931), p. 109, illustrates the head and calls its material terracotta. However, the head appears to have been carved from sandstone, and Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, p. 47, identifies the material as stone.

[145] For a list of the objects found with the head, see Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, pp. 109–110.

[146] Two seals found in the vicinity of the head only mention a *bṛhadvihāra*, that is, a great monastery; the portion of these seals bearing the name is not legible. However, recent excavations at Kumrahar have revealed a monastery there known from a Gupta-period seal to have been called Śrī-Ārogya-vihāra. See A. S. Altekar and Vijayakant Misra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations, 1951–55* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959), pp. 40–42.

[147] Compare, for example, Viṣṇu images from Unchdīh or Jhusī, both in Allāhābād District, or Bhinmal in Jalor District (Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plates 61, 62, and 87) with the Viṣṇu of the Maṇiyār Maṭh (Plate 18) or the Viṣṇu images of the dated sixth-century Cave III at Bādāmi (Banerji, *Basreliefs at Badami*, plate XVIIa). Recently this Viṣṇu from Patna has been dated to the Kuṣāṇa period. See Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "The Kuṣāṇa Art of Bihar," *JBRS*, LIX (1973), p. 68.

[148] Confusion regarding the provenance of these pillars was generated by R. D. Banerji, "Four Sculptures from Chandimau," *ASI,AR*, 1911–1912, pp. 161–166, who mistakenly identified the pillars as coming from a house in Chandimau, Patna District, although he recanted this view in his *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 171–172, note 3. Nevertheless, most publications and even the current museum label continue to report Chandimau as the original location of the pillars.

[149] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, pp. 160–62.

[150] *Ibid.*, p. 153, where Cunningham shows that the foundations of ancient monuments extend over a distance of four miles along the western bank of the Kiyul River.

[151] Giles, pp. 65–66.

[152] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XIX, plate IV, shows some of the short pillars placed before a brick temple at Deo Baruṇārk.

[153] That was the tragic fate of so many brick and stone monuments in India. Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, p. 153, specifically says that bricks from Rājaona have provided several miles of ballast for the railway.

[154] Compare, for example, a pillar from Kauśāmbī illustrated in Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, plate LXV.

[155] Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 192–193.

[156] Banerji, "Four Sculptures from Chandimau," pp. 164–165, identifies the kneeling figure as Arjuna and the standing four-armed figure as Śiva revealing himself in divine form after having given up the form of the *kirāta*. However, T. N. Ramachandran, "The Kirātārjunīyam or 'Arju-

na's Penance' in Indian Art," *JISOA*, XVII (1950–1951), p. 20, offers the more likely explanation that the four-armed figure is a personification of the pāśupata weapon. That seems especially plausible as the figure is rendered so differently from the seated figure of Śiva accompanied by Pārvatī in the same relief.

157 Since the pillar is broken, Banerji did not realize that the half of the panel showing Śiva belongs with the half showing Gaṅgā. Hence he was unable to identify the episode.

158 See, for example, the figures of the river goddesses from the Dah Parbatiyā temple doorway (Plate 116) and the Buxār temple doorway (Plate 118).

159 Stella Kramrisch, *The Art of Nepal* (New York: The Asia Society, 1964), figure 1.

160 Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, pp. 154–155, dated the inscriptions to the seventh or eighth century, while R. D. Banerji, "Four Sculptures from Chandimau," p. 166, assigned the inscriptions to the fifth or sixth century. Only the style of writing has been used to determine the date of the inscriptions. The content of these epigraphs offers no clue to their date.

161 Theodor Bloch, *AR of the ASI,EC*, 1902–1903, pp. 7–8.

162 Sachidanand Sahai, "Some Brahmanical Rock-Sculptures from Sultanganj," *JBRS*, XLIX (1963), pp. 137–146. Pramod Chandra, "Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture," in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Aspects of Indian Art* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), p. 62, discussing these images but identifying them as being at Pātharghāṭā, maintains a sixth-century date.

163 While published earlier, for example in the *Bhagalpur District Gazetteer*, the image was first described by P. C. Singh, "A Rare Viṣṇu Image in His Kevala Narasiṁha Form Found in Bhagalpur District," *JASB*, V, 3–4 (1963), pp. 81–82.

164 Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, Plate 163, and Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, figure 166.

165 The allegorical significance of this famous relief has never been fully explored, though V. S. Agrawala, *Matsya Purāṇa — A Study* (Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust, 1963), pp. 333–335, alludes to this aspect of it.

166 Bloch, *AR of the ASI,EC*, 1902–1903, p. 8.

167 For example, Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments*, p. 206.

168 See pp. 91–92 for a discussion of the Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra.

169 Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. xiii–xiv.

170 Compare the sculptures illustrated by Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings at Sārnāth." Explorations at Bihārail revealed a row of monastic cells, indicating that it was once the site of a monastery as the name implies. The site had been badly despoiled by local people collecting the ancient brick, and no other antiquities of note were found there. *ASI,AR*, 1922–1923, pp. 107–108.

171 Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, plate XXI.

172 Mukhlesur Rahman, *Report on the Working of the Varendra Research Museum (from 14 August, 1947 to 30 June, 1969)* (Rajshahi: University of Rajshahi, 1969), pp. 28–29.

173 Ajit Ghose, "An Image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara of the Time of Vainyagupta," *JISOA*, XIII (1945), pp. 49–54.

174 N. G. Majumdar, "Mallasarul Copper-plate of Vijayasena," *EI*, XXIII (January, 1936), pp. 155–161.

175 Basak, "Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the [Gupta]-Year 128," pp. 78–83.

176 F. E. Pargiter, "Three Copper-Plate Grants from East Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXIX (1910), pp. 193–216.

177 For many other personifications of Viṣṇu's wheel, see Begley, *op. cit.*

178 Fleet, *CII*, pp. 88–90. See also Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. X, plate XXVI and Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plates 21 and 23.

179 See A. S. Altekar, *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (Varanasi: Numismatic Society of India, 1957), pp. 146–149. There he discusses the significance of the Cakrapuruṣa on a gold coin that he attributes to Candragupta II.

180 Fleet, *CII*, pp. 88–90.

181 Enamul Haque, *The Iconography of the Hindu Sculpture of Bengal (Up to c. 1250 A.D.)* (Unpublished thesis, Oxford, 1973), plate 2.

182 Shahanara Hussain, "The Terracotta Find-Spots of Pre-Muslim Bengal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, XV, 2 (August, 1970), pp. 129–137, identifies the relevant sites but does not discuss their significance.

183 Accession numbers T262, T263, and T264. These figures remain unpublished.

184 *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1957–1958, plate LXXXVIIb. Admittedly, one small sculpture is not really evidence for a monastery, especially since Panna must have been located on a pilgrimage route as well as a commercial one. However, in the absence of evidence for the faith to which other terracotta sculptures from the site might belong, this piece provides at least a clue.

185 Saraswati, *ESB*, p. 112, note 23.

186 T. N. Ramachandran, "Tāmraliptī (Tamluk)," *Artibus Asiae*, XIV, 3 (1941), pp. 226–239. Although the sculptural remains of Tāmralipta found thus far all antedate the Gupta period, Fa Hsian provides evidence that an active monastic center remained at the seaport during the fifth century. He spent two years at one vihāra there "copying out *sūtras* and drawing pictures of images." Giles, p. 66.

187 *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1965–1966, pp. 59–60 and preceding volumes for a report on the temple and its probable date.

188 The original context of the small terracotta figures found at this site is not clear, nor is their association, if any, with the temple.

189 Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plates 131–140.

190 For Gītagrām, see K. N. Dikshit, "Excavations in Bengal," *ASI,AR* 1928–1929, p. 98. Dikshit, on the following page, reports on his explorations at the Rākṣasī Dāṅgā, Rāṅgāmāṭi, which he believed to be the site of Raktamṛttikā Vihāra.

191 Sudhir Ranjan Das, *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā: 1962* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1968).

192 The head, now in the Museum of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal, was collected from Chaḍpādā village, near the Rājbāḍīdāṅgā. Amita Ray, "Some Stucco Sculptures from Rajbadidanga," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 2 (1973), pp. 39–40.

193 Sudhir Ranjan Das, *Archaeological Discoveries from Murśidābād* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1971), pp. 33–35.

194 See below, pp. 46–48.

195 Das, *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā: 1962*, pp. 49–67.

196 Only two coins, both in local collections and therefore presumably gathered nearby, are known; although they derive from Gupta types, they are both provincial and probably later than the Gupta period. *Ibid.*, p. 14.

197 K. G. Goswami, *Excavations at Bangarh* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1948). See also K. N. Dikshit, "Explorations: Eastern Circle," *ASI,AR*, 1921–1922, pp. 83–134.

198 Barua, "The Old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān," pp. 57–66.

199 Nazimuddin Ahmed, *Mahasthan: A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1971), pp. 9, 31, plates IX–XIII.

200 K. N. Dikshit, "Excavations in Bengal," *ASI,AR*, 1928–1929, p. 96, made this observation, which is equally apparent to the more recent visitor to the site: "The antiquities registered from the different sites at Mahāsthān number 665, which is a relatively small number, considering the extent of the area explored."

201 A Gupta terracotta from Mahāsthāngaṛh of almost comparable quality is now housed in the Indian Museum. Saraswati, *ESB*, plate XIX, figure 45.

202 Some terracotta plaques from Mahāsthāngaṛh itself have long been

known. Many others, contemporary with the Pāhārpur terracottas, have been recently excavated at the Bhāsu Bihār there. Nazimuddin Ahmed, "Recent Discoveries at Bāsu-Bihār," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 1 (January, 1975), pp. 15–16.

CHAPTER 3 *Growth of the Style*

[1] The genealogy of the Later Guptas is given in the Aphsaḍ Inscription of Ādityasena (Fleet, *CII*, pp. 200–208) and the Deo Baruṇārk Inscription of Jīvitagupta II (*Ibid.*, pp. 213–218).

[2] Pires, *The Maukharis*, pp. 57–65.

[3] The history of Bengal at this time is not clear; however, R. G. Basak, *The History of North-Eastern India* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner, and Co., 1934), p. 144, and others believe that under Jīvitagupta I (c. 525–545) parts of Bengal were ruled by the Magadha Guptas.

[4] Mahāsenaguptā was given in marriage to Ādityavardhana (c. 545–565). See Baijnath Sharma, *Harṣa and His Times* (Varanasi: Sushma Prakashan, 1970), p. 30. For the genealogy of the Vardhanas that confirms this marriage, see the Sonpat Copper Seal of Harṣavardhana, Fleet, *CII*, pp. 231–232.

[5] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 196–214.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 215–224.

[7] *Ibid.*, pp. 177–195. The Mahākūṭa inscription written during the fifth year of Maṅgaleśa's reign (c. 602) proclaims that the Cālukya king conquered the monarchs of Vaṅga, Aṅga, and Magadha. J. F. Fleet, "Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions; the Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa," *The Indian Antiquary*, XIX, 1 (January, 1890), pp. 7–20. But there is no supporting evidence to prove that this Cālukya monarch actually made incursions into Northeastern India.

[8] Prabhākaravardhana was the son of Mahāsenaguptā. For the marriage of his daughter, see Sharma, *Harṣa and His Times*, pp. 42–43.

[9] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 193–194.

[10] *Ibid.*, pp. 208–214. For convincing arguments to support the view that Jayanāga preceded Śaśāṅka, see *Ibid.*, pp. 220–224.

[11] Sharma, *Harṣa and His Times*, pp. 145–149.

[12] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 212–214. See also E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas, trans., *The Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa* (reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968), pp. 173–175.

[13] Sharma, *Harṣa and His Times*, pp. 149–150.

[14] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 257–262. The evidence for his rule over Magadha during the final years of his life is not overwhelming. The view that Śaśāṅka ruled Magadha is based on the discovery of some of his coins at Nālandā. However, the coins were discovered in a stratum later than his period and so probably were brought to Nālandā some time after Śaśāṅka's life. *ASI,AR*, 1924–1925, p. 136.

[15] Hsuan Tsang, the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim who traveled in Eastern India during the first half of the seventh century, observed several flourishing Buddhist monasteries near the Gauḍa king's capital. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 201–204.

[16] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 273–278.

[17] *Ibid.*, pp. 263–266. The evidence that this Pūrṇavarman ruled Magdha is weak. Hsuan Tsang, referring to him as a king of Magadha and last of the descendents of Aśoka, credits him with the restoration of the Bodhi Tree after Śaśāṅka uprooted it. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 118. I am inclined to view Pūrṇavarman as a local monarch, perhaps a descendant of the Varman line known from the Barābar and Nāgārjunī Hill inscriptions of the previous century.

[18] Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 266–273.

[19] *Ibid.*, pp. 279–285.

[20] The inscriptions of Ādityasena are confined to Magadha, but a sixteenth or seventeenth-century inscription from the Vaidyanātha temple of Deoghar in Santal Parganas District, which purports to be a copy of an inscription of Ādityasena, refers to the king as "ruler of the [whole] earth, up to the shores of the oceans." This has led some to conclude that his authority extended to Bengal. Basak, *History of North-Eastern India*, pp. 150–151.

[21] For most of Ādityasena's inscriptions, see Fleet, *CII*, pp. 200–212.

[22] *Ibid.*, pp. 213–218.

[23] For the history of Southeast Bengal at this time, see Abdul Momin Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal* (Dacca: The Asiatic Society, 1967), pp. 139–144.

[24] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 86.

[25] *Ibid.*, p. 113.

[26] *Ibid.*, pp. 115–136.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 158.

[28] *Ibid.*, pp. 167–175.

[29] *Ibid.*, pp. 186–191.

[30] *Ibid.*, pp. 191–193.

[31] *Ibid.*, pp. 194–195.

[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200.

[33] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–204.

[34] *Ibid.*, pp. 201–202.

[35] See Das, *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā*, p. 43, for the discoveries that led to the conclusion that the site could be identified with Raktaviṭi, as Hsuan Tsang called the monastery, or Raktamṛttikā, more likely the proper name of the Mahāvihāra.

[36] If Śaśāṅka were motivated by political and economic considerations, that would explain the seeming inconsistency. See Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 259–260.

[37] Innumerable writers have been frustrated by the dearth of dated monuments during this period in North India. For example, see P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, pp. 24–26.

[38] Pratapaditya Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*; Part I: *Sculpture* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974).

[39] The only other remaining octagonal temple that I know is the Śankarācāya temple on a hill high above Śrīnagar, Kashmir.

[40] Ruin more than reconstruction has altered the appearance of the temple. The alteration is far from as drastic as R. D. Banerji claimed: "This temple has changed beyond recognition during the Pala period . . . when extensive repairs were carried out at this place." "The Oldest Brahmanical Temples," *Modern Review*, XLV, 1 (January, 1929), p. 60.

[41] P. K. Agrawala, *Gupta Temple Architecture* (Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1968), plate XXIII.

[42] *Ibid.*, plate XIX.

[43] The Paraśurāmeśvara temple is illustrated in Coomaraswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, plate LXVI. For a discussion of its seventh-century date, see K. C. Panigrahi, *Bhubaneswar* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961), pp. 26–32. The Lakṣmana temple is illustrated in Coomaraswamy, plate LI. For its seventh-century date, see Krishna Deva, "Lakṣmana Temple at Sirpur," *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, II (1960), pp. 35–42, where the author presents cogent evidence to indicate a date of c. 600 for the temple.

[44] J. A. Nanavati and M. A. Dhaky, *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat* (Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1969), figures 2–6 for the drawings of the Gop plinth and the plinths of related temples. See pp. 38–40 for the date of the temple.

[45] Michael W. Meister, "A Preliminary Report on the Śiva Temple at Kusumā," *Archives of Asian Art*, XVII (1973–1974), pp. 77–90. Meister, p. 82, draws the parallel between the plinth mouldings of this temple and of the Muṇḍeśvarī temple.

[46] The plan and drawings of remains at the site are reproduced by Montgomery Martin, *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics*

Notes

of Eastern India; Comprising the Districts of Behar, Shahabad, Bhagulpoor, Goruckpoor, Dinajpur, Purniya, Rungpoor, and Assam (London: William H. Allen, 1836–1838), vol. I, plate opposite p. 456.

[47] Some are illustrated in P. K. Agrawala, plates VI and VII.

[48] K. C. Panigrahi, "Temple of Muṇḍeśvarī in Shahabad," *JBRS*, XLIV (1958), pp. 14–21.

[49] P. K. Agrawala, p. 90.

[50] For the Shāhpur Inscription, see Fleet, *CII*, pp. 208–210. R. C. Majumdar, "The Harṣa Era," *IHQ*, XVII (1951), pp. 183–190, claims that a Harṣa era was not used in Indian chronology, but D. C. Sircar, "Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era," *IHQ*, XVII (1951), pp. 321–327, successfully rejects Majumdar's arguments.

[51] N. G. Majumdar, "The Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription of the Time of Udayasena: The Year 30," *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIX (February, 1920), pp. 21–29.

[52] R. D. Banerji, "The Mundesvari Inscription of Udayasena. The Harsa Year 30," *EI*, IX (1907–1908), p. 290.

[53] Majumdar, "The Mundesvari Inscription of the Time of Udayasena," p. 29.

[54] Krishna Deva, now Research Consultant at the American Institute of Indian Studies, Center for Art and Archaeology, Vārāṇasī, has very kindly shared with me a letter dated August 21, 1978 from Dr. G. S. Gai, Retired Chief Epigraphist for the Government of India. In the letter, Dr. Gai proposes the following translation of the inscription's most perplexing part: "This (structure or temple) of Nārāyaṇadeva was constructed by me (i.e. Gomibhaṭa), (the structure which) included or incorporated the shrine of the diety Vinīteśvara."

[55] Panigrahi, "Temple of Muṇḍeśvarī," pp. 14–21.

[56] The lintel of a doorway now lying upside down among the remains at the site certainly came from a temple other than the remaining octagonal one, perhaps from the Narāyaṇa temple. It is common for brick temples to have stone doorway mouldings.

[57] Meister, p. 77.

[58] Dissimilar pilasters enframe each of the three large niches of this temple. M. S. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, MASI, No. 70, plates X and XI.

[59] R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Plate X.

[60] Meister, figure 15.

[61] N. P. Joshi, *Catalogue of Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow* (Lucknow: State Museum, 1972), figures 34–35.

[62] Bharat Kalā Bhavan accession number 280. It is unpublished.

[63] Vats, plate Xb.

[64] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 65.

[65] Rosenfield, "On the dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 7.

[66] R. D. Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, MASI, No. 16, plate XIVa.

[67] The sculptures are identified by P. L. Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, pp. 47–49, simply as coming from Shāhābād, but Sheila Weiner, "From Gupta to Pāla Sculpture," p. 171, has correctly identified them as sculptures that Kuraishi saw on Muṇḍeśvarī Hill. See Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments*, pp. 145–146. Additional sculptures were brought from Muṇḍeśvarī Hill to the Patna Museum in 1969.

[68] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 65. Two images of Kārttikeya in *candraśālās* from Muṇḍeśvarī are even closer in iconography to the Gai Ghāṭ figure. One has been published by Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "Bihār-ki Prācīn Prastarkalā-meṅ Svāmī Kārttikeya," *Pariṣad Patrikā* (October, 1970), plate opposite p. 22.

[69] D. B. Diskalkar, "Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum," *JUPHS*, V, 1 (January, 1932), plate 19.

[70] Banerji, *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*, plate XIIId.

[71] For example, see the Vaiśālī Kārttikeya discussed below and illustrated in Plate 92.

[72] This is clear in the Balarāma dated to the year 9 of Devapāla's reign (c. 829) but even more exaggerated in a pair of Buddha images from the year 3 of Śūrapāla I (c. 864). The former is illustrated in Plate 178 of this book; the latter are illustrated in Banerji, *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*, plates IIa and c.

[73] Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, plate IX.

[74] Gaṇeśa is commonly associated with the Sapta Mātṛkās by this time. See R. C. Agrawala, "Mātṛkā Reliefs in Early Indian Art," pp. 85–87.

[75] Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "The Kuṣāṇa Art of Bihar," p. 69.

[76] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plates 31–32.

[77] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, plate XXXI, 1.

[78] Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "A Note on Pillar Inscriptions from Muṇḍeśvarī," *JBRS*, LVII (1971), pp. 87–88.

[79] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 63–64.

[80] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 274–278.

[81] Rajendralala Mitra, "Transcripts and Translations of Two Inscriptions from Buddha-Gayā," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (1880), pp. 76–80. See also Nilmani Chakravartti, "Pāla Inscriptions in the Indian Museum," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. IV (1908), pp. 101–102.

[82] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 118.

[83] Myer, p. 291. Could the story have been formulated when the tree on the west side of the temple was struck by lightning?

[84] For a photograph of the image, see Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, plate XIV.

[85] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figures 4 and 9.

[86] The inscription is clearest in a rubbing published by Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, plate XXVII, E.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. 59.

[88] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 150–158 and plate XXII.

[89] *Ibid.*, pp. 274–278 and plate XLI.

[90] *Ibid.*, pp. 200–208 and plate XXVIII. Banerji, *EIMS* p. 25, relates the letters to those of the Deo Baruṇārk inscription of Jīvitagupta II, but, in fact, they also resemble those of the Aphsaḍ inscription of Ādityasena, which, judging by the style of the sculpture itself, is probably closer to the proper date.

[91] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 128.

[92] Some are known on stelae depicting events from the life of the Buddha, for example one from Shibbati in Khulna District. Banerji, *EIMS*, plate XIXc. Even on such steles, depictions of the protection by Mucilinda are rare.

[93] The only other one appears on an architectural fragment at Sārnāth. F. O. Oertel, "Excavations at Sarnath," *ASI,AR*, 1904–1905, plate XXXb.

[94] Banerji, *EIMS*, p. 131, relates an inscribed bronze seated Buddha from Gayā to this image. He illustrates the figure in Plate LXVIc. Although the inscription, on a metal disc inserted in the bottom of the base, may be earlier than the image, the Buddha could not have been made before the ninth century. For the inscription, see Cecil Bendall, "An Inscription in a Buddhistic Variety of Nail-Head Characters," *The Indian Antiquary*, XIX (March, 1890), pp. 77–78.

[95] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 221–228.

[96] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), plates 181 and 155, respectively.

[97] This village is not listed in the *Gazetteer of India and Pakistan*. Nor does the Gazetteer show in Shāhābād District any other village of this name or a likely variation of it.

[98] Paramesvar Dayal, "The Mallayaṣṭikā Grant of Nandana," *JASB*, V, 1 (May, 1909), pp. 163–164, and Theodor Bloch, "Amauna Plate of the Maharaja Nandana; [Gupta-] Samvat 232," *EI*, X (1909–1910), pp. 49–51. The name of this village is given as either Amāwāṅ or Amauṅā, though it would be perfectly easy to transcribe the name Amāṅwā.

[99] Banerji, *EIMS*, plates LXXXIIIb and LXXXVb.

Notes

[100] B. B. Bidyabinod, *Varieties of the Viṣṇu Image*, MASI, No. 2. Also see Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Les Enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purana* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), pp. 22–24.

[101] Pratapaditya Pal, *Vaiṣṇava Iconology in Nepal* (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1970), pp. 66–68.

[102] Crowns decorated with a Kīrttimukha are also worn by some of the Nepalese Viṣṇu images. See Pal, *Arts of Nepal*, plates 109, 114, 116, and 118. The Kīrttimukha crown worn by a Viṣṇu (Plate 100) from Benisāgar in Singhbhūm District, near the Orissan border, is difficult to explain.

[103] Brijendra Nath Sharma, "Revanta in Literature, Art and Epigraphs," *East and West*, N.S. XXIII, 1–2 (March–June, 1973), pp. 155–168.

[104] *Ibid*., p. 159.

[105] Sachchidanand Sahai, "A Rare Sculpture of Revanta from Sultanganj," *JBRS*, XLVII (1961), pp. 211–213.

[106] Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, plate Xa.

[107] For the history of Nālandā's establishment, see pp. 26–27.

[108] See p. 27.

[109] For Hsuan Tsang's identification of Harṣa as the patron of Nālandā, see H. D. Sankalia, *The Nālandā University* (Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1972), pp. 54–56. For Harṣa's seals at Nālandā, see Sastri, "The Clay Seals of Nalanda," pp. 74–76.

[110] Harṣa's provision of patronage for Nālandā only after his defeat of Śaśāṅka is suggested especially by the fact that the *Harṣacarita*, which covers his rule until that time, implies that he was a worshipper of Śiva. His conversion to Buddhism, or at least his strong support of the faith, therefore must have come only late in life.

[111] For a site plan, see Amalananda Ghosh, *Nālandā* (New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1971), plate IX. The numbering of the monuments at Nālandā is confusing. For example, Site No. 3 is most commonly called Stūpa Site No. 3 in the excavation literature, but as that suggests the misleading notion that there are at least two other stūpa sites at Nālandā, we abbreviate the system and will refer to Site No. 3.

[112] J. A. Page, "Nalanda," *ASI,AR*, 1926–1927, pp. 128–132. Several of these integuments may be part of the original construction and not represent periodic renovations. In addition, we should question the portion of the stūpa identified as the final two integuments, as they would have obscured the stucco sculptures that still today remain in excellent preservation.

[113] *Ibid*., p. 129.

[114] The closest parallel at other sites is a series of miniature stūpas surrounding the central stūpa. For example, this is the arrangement at Ratnagiri in Cuttack District, Orissa.

[115] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, plate XVI. Though heavily reconstructed and modified, the present form of the temple is essentially contemporary with the fifth integument of the Nālandā Great Stūpa.

[116] For the plan of this temple, see Amalananda Ghosh, *Nālandā*, plate IX. For a typical pañcāyatana temple plan, see Stella Kramrisch, *The Hindu Temple* (Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946), p. 225.

[117] At least through the Gupta period, miniature stūpas show Buddhas with the hands in the same mudrā on each of two sides, so evidently the Dhyāni Buddhas were not distinguished on the stūpas, even if the system was fully developed at this time.

[118] The heads of the small figures all had been damaged when I first visited Nālandā in 1969. Sadly, the heads of many of the main figures were removed and others desecrated by vandals when I visited the site in 1975.

[119] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 1.

[120] All the Gupta standing Buddhas of Mathurā hold the garment end at waist level. Also all the large Gupta standing Buddhas of Sārnāth hold it at waist level. But some standing Buddhas in steles from Sārnāth customarily ascribed to the Gupta period hold the garment end at shoulder level; and in a Sārnāth stele ascribed to the ninth century, all the standing Buddhas hold the garment end at shoulder level, indicating that this feature was fully accepted only after the Gupta period. For illustrations of these, see Joanna Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," *Ars Orientalis*, X (1975), pp. 171–192. The one undoubtedly late stele is illustrated in figure 3 of the article. However, in Buddhist sculptures of the Deccan made during the Vākāṭaka age, the garment end is customarily held at shoulder level, and so the fashion may have originated there.

[121] *Ibid*., figure 3, which shows the proportionally large head.

[122] For examples of the Sārnāth prototype, see John Marshall and Sten Konow, "Sarnath," *ASI,AR*, 1906–1907, plate XX, 3 and Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 4.

[123] A stele illustrating scenes from the life of the Buddha, normally ascribed to the Gupta period, shows regularly spaced striations to indicate garment folds. Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," figure 1. Only a few other Sārnāth sculptures of the fifth and sixth century use incised lines to represent garment folds, although folds may have been painted on other figures.

[124] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 7.

[125] Benoytosh Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1968), pp. 130–132.

[126] *Ibid*., p. 129. Though the smile is prescribed in one of the *sādhanas* for Khasarpaṇa, this Bodhisattva is so similar to Lokanātha — only two of the attendants are different — that we may presume a smile is intended for Lokanātha as well.

[127] Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 65. Also from Vārāṇasī, a Kṛṣṇa Govardhana shows the same coiffure, indicative of his youthful character. *Ibid*., plate 63.

[128] Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, *Étude Iconographique sur Mañjuśrī* (Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1964), pp. 34–35.

[129] For example, see Ghosh, *Nālandā*, p. 3.

[130] J. A. Page, "Nalanda," *ASI,AR*, 1925–1926, p. 103.

[131] It is unusual that dressed stone is used as the building material of this temple. For the other shrines at Nālandā, brick is used, as it is commonly elsewhere in Eastern India.

[132] D. B. Spooner, *AR of the ASI,EC*, 1915–1916, p. 36, counted 211 panels, apparently not including the ones that had fallen from their place.

[133] Krishna Deva and V. S. Agrawala, "The Stone Temple at Nalanda," *JUPHS*, XXIII, 4 (1950), p. 198.

[134] A. M. Broadley, *Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgāon, Sub-Division Bihar, Zillah Patna* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1872). In this small volume, Broadley also described his excavations at the place later called Site No. 12.

[135] Sukumar Dutt, *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India* (London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962), p. 331.

[136] Panigrahi, *Bhubaneswar*, figures 38, 39, 41.

[137] Krishna Deva and V. S. Agrawala, p. 201.

[138] Banerji, *Basreliefs of Bādāmi*, plates Ic, VIIb, and XVb.

[139] Heinrich Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1964), plate 183.

[140] P. Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Plates LVIII and LIX.

[141] Krishna Deva and V. S. Agrawala, pp. 202–212.

[142] *Ibid*., p. 202, numbers 1 and 2.

[143] J. A. Page, "Nalanda," *ASI,AR*, 1921–1922, pp. 19–20.

[144] H. Hargreaves, "Excavations at Sarnath," *ASI,AR*, 1914–1915, plate LXIV.

[145] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. I, pp. 213–221, vol. II, p. 174.

[146] *Ibid*., vol. II, pp. 214–221.

[147] Scant remains of colossal clay images, perhaps once coated with stucco, may be seen in most of the temples at Nālandā. There is no

certain explanation of why they suffered the ravages of time or invaders, while the architectural relief on the exterior was preserved. However, these reliefs may have been covered by natural accumulation or subsequent alterations of the buildings, while the enshrined images remained exposed. Moreover, if tradition is correct in attributing the demise of Nālandā to the invasion of Bakhtiyār Khaljī at the end of the twelfth century, the destruction of the cult image would have rendered the temple useless and required no further devastation in the course of an iconoclastic rampage.

148 Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV, pp. 11–12.

149 *Ibid*., Cunningham assumes the year to be 55, and he also states that Bhagwanlal Indraji read the date as 88. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 208–210, read the date as 66 on the basis of the rubbing reproduced in plate XI, no. 1 of Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV. Fleet, however, admits that the date is not clear.

150 D. C. Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary* (Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966), pp. 10–11.

151 Fleet, *CII*, p. 209: "When I sent my copyists to Shahpur in 1884, they could not find the image, and could obtain no information as to what had become of it."

152 Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV, p. 12. Italics mine.

153 For the provenance of this image, said to be from Bihar in the museum records, see F. M. Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXII (1970), p. 108.

154 Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XI, p. 184.

155 *Ibid*., pp. 165–168.

156 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 102–103.

157 For example, see the preaching Buddhas of several Sārnāth steles depicting scenes from the life of the Buddha. Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," figures 1 and 3.

158 *Ibid*., figure 4.

159 The image no longer remains on Ratnagiri, and I have been unable to find its present location.

160 Banerji, *EIMS*, plate LXXVIIa and c.

161 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 158.

162 Kuraishi, *Rājgir*, p. 26.

163 *Ibid*.

164 See above, p. 15, for a discussion of Brahmanical installations in sanctuaries excavated for the Ājīvikas.

165 Kuraishi, *Rājgir*, p. 26.

166 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 82–185. For a map of Hsuan Tsang's route, see Schwartzberg, *South Asia Historical Atlas*, plate III.D.4.

167 The word in the inscription is *maṭha*, which is translated by Fleet and others as religious college; the word also means temple and apparently is used in that sense in the Muṇḍeśvarī inscription discussed above. In addition, the word may mean monastery, hermitage, or convent (Sircar, *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*, p. 201), and from the context that meaning seems most proper; hence we have used the word sanctuary.

168 Fleet, *CII*, pp. 200–208. Fleet reports that the inscription has been lost, although today it is in the British Museum. Credit for its rediscovery is due to Wladimir Zwalf, Assistant Keeper, Department of Oriental Antiquities.

169 B. P. Sinha, "Representations of Rāmāyanic Scenes in an Old Temple Wall at Aphsad," *JBRS*, LIV (1968), pp. 216–218.

170 Das, *Archaeological Discoveries from Murśidābād*, p. 35.

171 Harle, *Gupta Sculpture*, plate 24.

172 Agrawala, *Matsya Purāna — A Study*, pp. 333–335.

173 Fleet, *CII*, pp. 21–25.

174 *Ibid*., pp. 88–90.

175 *Ibid*., pp. 158–161. The inscription, which opens with praise for Varāha's valorous rescue of the earth, continues to address at length the greatness of the monarch Mātṛviṣṇu. Note the similar allegorical function of the figure surmounting the Eran dhvajastambha, discussed above, with the Cakrapuruṣa image from Sālār, pp. 32–33.

176 Stella Kramrisch, "A Note," appended to K. P. Jayaswal, "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery," *JISOA*, II, 2 (December, 1934), p. 78, recalls seeing the images at Aphsaḍ in 1930.

177 Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "Some Important Sculptural Acquisitions of the Patna Museum," *JBRS*, LIII (1967), p. 159, records the provenance of the sculpture in the Patna Museum as Mahrāwāṅ. The records of the Naradah Museum state that the provenance of their sculpture is Marūī.

178 P. L. Gupta told me that when he collected the sculpture for the Patna Museum, he left behind an almost identical but less complete image, presumably the one now in the Naradah Museum.

179 For associations of the pillar itself with regal authority, see John Irwin, "'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence," Part IV: "Symbolism," *Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII (November, 1976), pp. 744–745, 748–749.

180 *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1965–1966, pp. 23–24. See also M.D. Khare, "Discovery of a Vishṇu Temple Near the Heliodoros Pillar, Besnagar, Dist. Vidisha (M.P.)," *Lalit Kalā*, 13 (1967), pp. 21–27.

181 Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, pp. 17–20.

182 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 180–185.

183 Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV, pp. 6–10.

184 James Fergusson, "On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi," *JRAS*, N.S., VI (1873), p. 235, when discussing the route from Rājgir to Hiraṇyaparvata, comments, " . . . though Cunningham twice arbitrarily alters the distance, and three times the direction given by the author, even in this short distance, he fails in every instance to bring the natural features of the country into accord with the descriptions of the Pilgrim." Fergusson makes a convincing case for accepting the distances reported by Hsuan Tsang and supposing that he stopped nowhere between modern Giriyek and the Sheikhpura Hills.

185 D. C. Sircar, "Inscriptions from Mandar Hill," *EI*, XXXVI (July, 1966), p. 304.

186 The Mathurā inscription of the year 61 is the earliest epigraph that I know that carries both a date and the name of a Gupta monarch. Earlier inscriptions of Gupta kings bear no dates.

187 Rashbihari Bose, "Mandara Hill," *The Indian Antiquary*, I (February 2, 1872), p. 50.

188 Fleet, *CII*, pp. 211–212.

189 Fleet was unable to obtain information regarding their precise location (*Ibid*., p. 211), and the description of Beglar is far from precise: "one is on a rock to the right of the steps rising from a corner of the lower tank . . . and at the base of a flight leading to the upper tank." Quoted *ibid*.

190 Rajendralala Mitra, "On the Temples of Deoghar," *JASB*, XII, 1 (1883), pp. 190–191, reproduces a transcription of the inscription.

191 Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 290.

192 *Ibid*., pp. 291–292 summarizes the views regarding Ādityasena's supposed Coḷa origins.

193 C.E.A.W. Oldham, ed., *Journal of Francis Buchanan Kept During the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–1811* (Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1930), p. 20. This probably refers to a Kol tribal.

194 Theodor Bloch, "Excavations at Basarh," *ASI,AR*, 1903–1904, pp. 81–122.

195 Yogendra Mishra and Sita Ram Roy, *A Guide to Vaisali and the Vaisali Museum* (Vaisali: Vaisali Sangha, 1964).

196 The excavations are reported in Rajendralala Mitra, "On the Buddhist Remains of Sultanganj," *JASB*, XXXIII (1864), pp. 360–372, although there the date of the excavations is not given. It is known from a label on the Buddha head acquired by the Victoria and Albert Museum,

London, See John C. Irwin, "Some Unknown Gupta Sculptures from Sultanganj," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII (1954), p. 35.

[197] Mitra, "On the Buddhist Remains," p. 366.

[198] Letter dated October 7, 1864. I quote the letter with the kind permission of Anthony Gunstone, Keeper, Department of Archaeology at the City Museum and Art Gallery, Birmingham.

[199] Mitra, "On the Buddhist Remains," p. 367.

[200] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV, p. 28.

[201] *Ibid.*, pp. 28–30.

[202] Cunningham reports that the Kṣatrapa coin belonged to "Maha Kshatrapa Swāmi Rudra Sena, the son of M. Ksh. Satya, or Surya, Sena," i.e., Rudrasena III, *ibid.*, p. 29. This view has been widely repeated, for example by A. S. Altekar, *Coinage of the Gupta Empire* (Benares: Numismatic Society of India, 1957), p. 150, who further suggests that the coins may have been brought eastward by a Bihāri captain who had accompanied Candragupta's expeditionary force in Western India. However, the Kṣatrapa coin surely belongs to Rudrasiṁha III, not Rudrasena III, for the former is consistently identified on his coins as son of the Mahākṣatrapa Satyasiṁha, while Rudrasena III is identified on his coins as son of Mahākṣatrapa Rudradāman. Moreover, it was Rudrasiṁha III, not Rudrasena III, whom Candragupta II conquered. R. C. Majumdar, ed., *HCIP*, vol. III, *The Classical Age* (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954), pp. 49–50.

[203] An early fifth-century date rather than a late fourth-century date for the placement of the coins in the relic casket seems appropriate, since Candragupta's conquest of the Śakas is presumed to have taken place quite late in his career. Goyal, p. 246.

[204] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XV, p. 28.

[205] Douglas Barrett, "Gandhara Bronzes," *The Burlington Magazine*, CII (August, 1960), p. 361.

[206] For example, Stanislaw Czuma, "A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LVII, 2 (February, 1970), p. 55, assigns the figure to the eighth century.

[207] *Ibid.*, pp. 55–60.

[208] Banerji, plates IIa and IIIc.

[209] I am indebted to G. S. Learmonth, Keeper, Department of Conservation at the City Museums and Art Gallery, Birmingham, for permitting me to publish the following results of a radio-carbon dating carried out on the Sultānganj Buddha at the British Museum:

671 A.D. ± 81 years (uncorrected)

633 A.D. ± 83 years (corrected using revised half life)

Mr. Learmonth cautions that the results of the test should be considered tentative, as there is only a small concentration of carbon in the core. He further notes that the statue was cast of impure copper on a clay core tempered with rice husks.

[210] Mitra, "On the Buddhist Remains," p. 366.

[211] *Ibid.*, p. 369.

[212] Many of these are discussed by Czuma, "A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha."

[213] Among the bronze statues installed in a Tibetan monastery is a Jaina image from Western India illustrated in Giuseppe Tucci, *Tibetan Painted Scrolls* (Rome, 1949), vol. I, figure 2.

[214] Mary S. Slusser, "On the Antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft," *Archives of Asian Art*, 29 (1975–1976), pp. 82–84, 93.

[215] Tucci, *loc. cit.*

[216] Härtel, "Die Kuṣāṇa-Horizonte im Hügel von Sonkh (Mathura)," figures 13 and 18.

[217] Vincent A. Smith and William Hoey, "Ancient Buddhist Statuettes and a Candella Copper-plate from the Banda District," *JASB*, LXIV, 1 (1895), pp. 155–162.

[218] Pratapaditya Pal, *Bronzes of Kashmir* (Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975), plate 72. The author concurs in ascribing the figure to the northwestern part of the subcontinent.

[219] For example, see Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, plate 166.

[220] K. C. Panigrahi, "The Archaeological Remains at Benisāgar in the Singhbhum District of Bihar," *JBRS*, XLII, 1 (March, 1956), pp. 1–11.

[221] Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 50.

[222] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XIII, p. 70.

[223] B. N. Srivastava, *Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa* (Lucknow: U. P. Historical Society, 1965), pp. 51–53, discusses the extent of his empire.

[224] J. N. Banerjea, "An Abhicārika Viṣṇu Image," *JISOA*, VIII (1940), pp. 159–162.

[225] For the discovery of the image, see Kalidas Dutt, "The Antiquities of Khari," *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1928–1929, appendix pp. 1–13. Kāśipur is about 40 miles north of Tāmralipta, perhaps located on a route that connected the port with the Maināmatīi Hills.

[226] Saraswati, *ESB*, p. 26.

[227] Chandra, "Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture," p. 62, and Margaret F. Marcus, "Sculptures from Bihar and Bengal," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LIV, 8 (October, 1967), p. 241.

[228] One is from Lakṣmaṇkāṭi in Bakarganj District, now apparently lost; it is illustrated by N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of the Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca: Dacca Museum Committee, 1929), plate XXXII. The other, from Agradīgun in West Dināǰpur District, is illustrated in Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1973), figure 15.

[229] For an example of the anthropomorphic figure in flight, see the Gajendra Mokṣa panel of the Deogaṛh temple. Vats, *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, plate Xa. For examples of the static zoomorphic figure of Garuḍa, see Pal, *The Arts of Nepal*, plates 108–111.

[230] Begley, *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel*, p. 56, note 261.

[231] Chandra, "Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture," p. 62.

[232] Marcus, "Sculptures from Bihar and Bengal," p. 241.

[233] Das, *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā: 1962*, pp. 56–58.

[234] *Ibid.*, pp. 18–43. See also Das, *Archaeological Discoveries from Murśidābād*. However, almost 100 seals dating to the seventh century were found in the course of excavations at the Rājbāḷīdāṅgā. See Das, *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā: 1962*, pp. 49–66.

[235] Nazimuddin Ahmed, *Mahasthan: A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Excavations* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1971).

[236] *Ibid.*, p. 25.

[237] Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, plate LXV.

[238] The use of terracotta panels did not begin suddenly and without precedent in the eighth century. Somewhat earlier, during the sixth or seventh century, at least one monument in the vicinity of Mahāsthāngaṛh was adorned with terracotta decoration, as proved by some highly refined plaques that recently have been discovered. Ahmed, "Recent Discoveries at Bhāsu-Bihār," pp. 11–18.

[239] Bhattacharyya, "A Newly Discovered Copperplate from Tippera," pp. 45–60.

[240] As is the case with Nālandā, Mahāsthāngaṛh, and every other major site of Eastern India, no complete report on the excavations at Maināmatī has been published. However, for accounts of the site, see T. N. Ramachandran, "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along The Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal," *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1946), pp. 213–231; F. A. Khan, *Mainamati; A Preliminary Report on Recent Excavations in East Pakistan* (Karachi: Department of Archaeology, 1963); Barrie Morrison, *Lalmai; A Cultural Center of Early Bengal* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974); and an excellent unpublished thesis by M. Harunur Rashid, *The Early History of South-East Bengal in the Light of Recent Archaeological Material* (Cambridge, 1968).

241 Morrison, *Lalmai*, p. 98.
242 *Ibid.*, p. 101.
243 Rashid, *The Early History of South-East Bengal*, pp. 123–133.
244 The sole exception, not a particularly significant one, was noted at Barā-Pahārī near Patna. Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, pp. 89–90.
245 *Ibid.*, pp. 64–66.
246 Smith, *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*, plate III.
247 Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, pp. 84–90.
248 For a general study of sea traffic in ancient Bengal, but with little attention specifically to Samataṭa, see H. B. Sarkar, "Bengal and Her Traffic-Routes in the Bay of Bengal and South East Asia (c. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.)," *JASB*, XIV, 2–4 (1972), pp. 74–90.
249 Williams, "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life."
250 Banerji, *EIMS*, plate XXIXb for figures very similarly arranged, as well as plates XXVIIc and d and plate XXVIII.
251 Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 5.
252 Phyllis Granoff, "A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXII (1968), pp. 81–95.
253 Banerji, *EIMS*, plate LXXVb, and, for another view, *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1891, plate III.
254 Ganga Mohan Laskar, "Ashrafpur Copper-Plate Grants of Devakhadga," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I (1905–1907), pp. 85–91.
255 R. C. Majumdar, "The Date of the Khadga Dynasty of Bengal," *JASB*, N.S. XIX (1923), pp. 375–379.
256 Nalinikanta Bhattasali, "Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal," *EI*, XVII (1923–1924), p. 359.
257 *Ibid.*, p. 357.
258 *Ibid.* But, curiously, Sir John Marshall, in his annual report as Director General of Archaeology for India, notes, "The Curator of the Dacca Museum reports that [among the] only additions to the Archaeological Section of his institution [is] a mixed metal statue of an eight-armed Buddhist goddess, possibly dating back to the 7th or 8th century, from Tippera District." *ASI,AR*, 1918–1919, p. 31. He is undoubtedly referring to the Sarvāṇī, so either the curator, Bhattasali, anticipated acquiring the sculpture or else Marshall misinterpreted the curator's report. In any case, the current Director of the Dacca Museum, Enamul Haque, confirms that the piece is nowhere in the collection.
259 Now in the Varendra Research Museum, Rajshahi, accession number D(c)1/133. R. G. Basak and D. C. Bhattacharyya, *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society* (Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1919), p. 15.
260 Barrie M. Morrison, *Political Centers and Culture Regions in Bengal* (Tucson: Association for Asian Studies, 1970), p. 119.
261 Ramprasad Chanda, "Museums," *ASI,AR*, 1929–1930, pp. 194–195. See also Narendra Nath Law, "Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chittagong, *IHQ*, VIII, 2 (June, 1932), pp. 332–341.
262 For example, see R. D. Banerji, "Exploration: Eastern Circle," *ASI,AR*, 1924–1925, pp. 98–99.
263 Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, pp. 45–52. The temples in this group span a rather broad period of time, but most are datable to the seventh century.
264 *Ibid.*, Plate 69. The figure is from Lalitagiri.
265 *ASI,AR*, 1923–1924, Plate XXXa.
266 R. D. Banerji, *ASI,AR*, 1924–1925, p. 99, comments, "The artist's sense of proportion, the beautiful symmetry of the figures and ornamental devices and the excellence of execution tend to prove that this door lintel belongs to the same period as the great schools of sculpture which existed at Pataliputra and Benares in the fifth and sixth centuries A.D."
267 See above, pp. 28–29. The only evidence for royal interest in the site is Hsuan Tsang's report that Pūrṇavarman — unknown in history apart from the reference of this Chinese pilgrim — restored the Bodhi tree after it had been uprooted by Śaśāṅka. See above, p. 43. Still, no monument at Bodhgayā is associated with this king.

CHAPTER 4 *Bridge to Pāla Art*

1 Fleet, CII, pp. 213–218. A recently discovered copperplate inscription of *Paramabhaṭṭāraka Mahārājādhirāja Parameśvara Śrī* Jīvagupta from Katra in Muzaffarpur District has been associated with Jīvitagupta II, although there is no evidence to support this. D. C. Sircar, "Copper-Plate Grants from Bihar," *EI*, XXXV, 3 (July, 1963), pp. 125–144.
2 Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 313–314.
3 Evidence for Yaśovarman's conquest of Eastern India is derived largely from the eighth-century epic poem *Gauḍavaho* by Vākpatirāja. An excellent annotated text and translation has been edited by N. G. Suru, *Vākpatirāja's Gauḍavaho* (Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1975).
4 Hirananda Sastri, "Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmmadeva," *EI*, XX (1929–1930), pp. 37–46. Sastri contends that Yaśovarma is identical with the early sixth-century monarch, Yaśodharma, known from the Mandasor inscriptions, but for evidence that he should be identified with the hero of the *Gauḍavaho*, see R. C. Majumdar, "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *IHQ*, VII, 3 (September, 1931), p. 664.
5 F. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva," *EI*, IV (1896–1897), pp. 243–254.
6 For the original homeland of the Pālas, see Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, p. 324, and Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, pp. 16–18.
7 For accounts of Dharmapāla's reign, see *Ibid.*, pp. 20–32, and Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 337–367.
8 This is recorded in the Khalimpur inscription of Dharmapāla's 32nd year. Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva," p. 252.
9 Though this is stated in the Gwalior inscription of Bhoja and the Jodhpur inscription of Bauka, it is in no way indicated in any Pāla records. Sinha, *Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha*, pp. 346–350.
10 Tibetan tradition credits the establishment of Vikramaśīla to Dharmapāla. See Chattopadhyaya, pp. 278–279. Seals at Pāhārpur identify the place as Śrī-Somapura Śrī-Dharmapāla Mahāvihāra, although Tāranātha credits its foundation to Devapāla. For the seals, see *ASI,AR*, 1927–1928, p. 105; for Tāranātha's reference to the foundation of Somapura, see Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 266–267. Dharmapāla's endowments to Nālandā are recorded in an inscription found there. Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material*, pp. 85–87.
11 Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, pp. 144–49.
12 D. C. Sircar, "Copper Plate Inscriptions of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata," *JASB, Letters*, Vol. XVII (1951), pp. 83–94.
13 Douglas Barrett, "An Early Pāla Bodhisattva," *British Museum Quarterly*, XX, 1 (March, 1955), p. 20.
14 Mitra, "Transcripts and Translations of Two Inscriptions from Buddha-Gayā," pp. 76–80, and Chakravartti, "Pāla Inscriptions in the Indian Museum, pp. 101–102.
15 Two of the images are bronze statues of Balarāma, one from Kurkihār, now in the Patna Museum, dated Year 9 of Devapāla's reign, the other from Nālandā, now in the National Museum of India, simply inscribed in this monarch's reign. They are illustrated in Plates 178 and 179. A third sculpture inscribed in Devapāla's period is a small stone Tārā from Hilsa, now in the Patna Museum, dated in the year 35 of his reign.
16 Vats, *Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, plate IXa.
17 Viennot, *Les Divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā*, pl. 24b and 32.
18 *Ibid.*, pp. 45–52.
19 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 63–64.

Notes

[20] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, pp. 66–67.

[21] See below for a discussion of this pillar and the identity of the figures at the base, pp. 72–73.

[22] Elsewhere at this time, temples probably dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Sūrya were placed next to one another. For example, at Roḍā, Temples III and V were dedicated to Śiva and Viṣṇu, respectively, while the small ruined temple between them was probably dedicated to Sūrya. Closer to Masāṛh, at Dāpthū in Gayā District, there are the remains of four temples arranged in a row; the first three of these were apparently dedicated to Śiva, Viṣṇu, and Sūrya.

[23] Fleet, *CII*, pp. 213–218.

[24] See above, pp. 40–42.

[26] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XVI, pp. 68–72.

[26] Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, plate LXV.

[27] Vats, *Gupta Temple at Deogarh*, plates XII–XIII.

[28] Its symbolism is interpreted by Jean Przyluski, "Le Symbolisme du Pilier de Sarnath," *Études d'Orientalisme à la Memoire de Raymonde Linossier*, vol. II (Paris: Musée Guimet, 1932), pp. 481–498.

[29] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, p. 444, shows that the ninth planet, Ketu, was a later addition and now shown at this time.

[30] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XVI, p. 66.

[31] His cursory descriptions of these two shed little light on their identity.

[32] Fleet, *CII*, p. 214, although it should be noted that the inscription is far from explicit in the identification of Varuṇavāsin.

[33] Compare the images from Kurkihār illustrated in Banerji, *EIMS*, Plates XIIIc, XIVa, and XXIXa. The last also shows the flying Mālādharas, also seen on the Umā-Maheśvara from Deo Baruṇārk illustrated in Plate 131 and on the figures from Deo Markaṇḍeya discussed below.

[34] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. XVI, pp. 60–61.

[35] For evidence from earlier times that works of art were not exported from major art-producing centers, see above, p. 10.

[36] These images, largely unpublished, include an enormous seated Buddha at Kuśinagar and several other sculptures from Gorakhpur District now housed in the Lucknow Museum. A few of these are discussed in Daya Ram Sahni, "Notes in the Gorakhpur and Saran Districts," *ASI,AR*, 1906–1907, pp. 193–205. There is also an image of Viṣṇu from Vārāṇasī in the Bharat Kalā Bhavan.

[37] V. N. Srivastava, "Copper Land Grant of King Śūrapāla from Mirzapur Dated in the Year 3," *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, 5–6 (June-December, 1970), pp. 67–70.

[38] Theodor Bloch, *AR of the ASI,B.E.*, 1902, p. 19. "In coming to the district of Shahabad from the neighboring district of Gaya, the traveller is struck with the absence of Buddhist remains, which suddenly seem to disappear, as soon as one crosses the Sone. In fact, Buddhism when it flourished in Magudha [*sic*] . . . does not seem to have extended beyond that river."

[39] Cunningham, *Mahābodhi*, p. 32.

[40] Such kneeling devotees appear, for example, on two of the dated images of Devapāla's time, the Balarāma from Nālandā and the Tārā from Hilsa. See Banerji, *EIMS*, plate Ib and IIb.

[41] Though ascribed to the eighth century, the metal Buddha from Gayā dates to the ninth century. It is illustrated in Banerji, *EIMS*, plate LXVIc.

[42] Zimmer, plates 80, 179, 183, 197. The last image, from the Viśvakarman Cave at Ellorā, dates to the eighth century and shows much the same tubular treatment of the limbs as we see in the Bodhgayā figures.

[43] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 4.

[44] See below, pp. 83–85.

[45] Several of the Kurkihār bronze Buddha images have a flaming halo. See, for example, Jayaswal, "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery," plate XXXI.

[46] For example, Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 7.

[47] Walpola Rahula, *History of Buddhism in Ceylon* (Colombo: M. D. Gunasena, 1956), p. 109.

[48] *Ibid.*, pp. 78–111. See also C. W. Nicholas and S. Paranavitana, *A Concise History of Ceylon* (Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1961), pp. 171–173.

[49] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 133.

[50] Sukumar Dutt, p. 175. See also Heinz Bechert, "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origina of Mahāyāna," *German Scholars on India*, vol. I (Varanasi: Chowkhamba, 1973), p. 13.

[51] Both Fa Hsian and Hsuan Tsang describe a mountain called Kukkuṭapāda-giri, which was the place where Kāśyapa died and achieved Nirvāṇa. Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. I, pp. 15–17, has identified Kurkihār as the monastery established at this site and derives the name of the village from Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri Vihāra. In spite of the sanctity of the spot, neither Chinese pilgrim refers to a monastery there. Hence the vihāra may not be older than the earliest images so far found there.

[52] Stella Kramrisch, "A Note," appended to K. P. Jayaswal, "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery," p. 7.

[53] Benjamin Rowland, Jr., *Evolution of the Buddha Image* (New York: The Asia Society, 1963), p. 132.

[54] Sherman E. Lee, *Asian Art: Selections from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd* (New York: The Asia Society, 1970), p. 30, cat. 4.

[55] For example, Gayā is one of the pilgrimage centers listed in the *Tīrtha-Yatra* section of the *Mahābhārata*. See Bhardwaj, *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India*, p. 51.

[56] This is fundamental to the notion of caste. This complicated family/occupational system is summarized by V. M. Apte in *HCIP*, vol. I, pp. 385–392. Recent very important work by B. N. Goswamy has shed some light on families of artists as the perpetuators of style. See for example his "Pahari Painting: The Family as the Basis of Style," *Mārg*, XXI, 4 (September, 1968), pp. 17–62.

[57] Banerji, *EIMS*, plate Ia.

[58] Mitra, "Transcripts and Translations of Two Inscriptions from Buddha-Gayā," pp. 76–80, and Chakravartti, "Pāla Inscriptions in the Indian Museum," p. 102. S. K. Maity and R. Mukherji, *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions* (Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1967), p. 113, explain that the word *malla*, normally meaning a warrior, may here refer to Buddhist monks waging war against their sense organs. That seems unlikely in this Śiva dedication. Other military terms, such as *bhaṭa* or *bhaṭṭa* are also adopted for administrative offices in Eastern India.

[59] There is no reason to believe that the area was ever the exclusive domain of the Buddhists. No doubt the Bodhisattva went there because of its long-standing sanctity. Much later, a local devotee of Śiva is said to have expanded the vihāra that Aśoka built at the site of the Buddha's Enlightenment. Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, p. 119.

[60] These images remain unpublished.

[61] A figure with similar armlets is illustrated by Banerji, *EIMS*, plate XIIIa, while figures with a hooked pattern bordering the halo are illustrated by Banerji in plates XXVIIb and XXVIIIc, among others.

[62] The Kṛṣṇa Dvārka temple was founded long after the time of this image, although it, like the Viṣṇupad temple and many other shrines at Gayā, accommodates earlier images.

[63] These sculptures remain unpublished but call for documentation in a monograph on the abundant monuments of Gayā.

[64] This is unpublished. Numerous liṅgas were seen at Orel by Marc Aurel Stein, "Notes on an Archaeological Tour in South Bihar and Hazaribagh," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), pp. 83–84. They remain at the site, but only one carries a face.

[65] Giles, *Travels of Fa-hsien*, p. 53, and Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 112–113.

[66] A seal of about the fourth century found at Vaiśāli inscribed "Śrī Viṣṇupada-Svāmi Nārāyaṇa," has been taken as evidence that the fa-

mous Viṣṇupad temple of Gayā was established at that time. Bloch, "Excavations at Basarh," p. 104. However, the evidence is far from conclusive. A copperplate inscription of Samudragupta found at Gayā is at most a later copy of an original plate whose true provenance cannot be established. Fleet, *CII*, pp. 254–257, and Goyal, *A History of the Imperial Guptas*, pp. 111–114.

[67] Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphic Material*, pp. 85–87.

[68] Sastri, "Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmmadeva." The inscription was found in the southern verandah of the monastery at Site No. 1. As he assumes that Bālāditya is identified as the reigning king, Sastri dates the inscription to the sixth century; however, it only refers to Bālāditya's erection of a lofty temple at Nālandā. For the proper identification of Yaśovarma, see Majumdar, "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," p. 664. For further views regarding the inscription's date, see A. K. Mrithyunjayan, "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *IHQ*, VIII, 1 (March, 1932), pp. 228–230; R. C. Majumdar, "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *IHQ*, VIII,2 (June, 1932), pp. 371–373; and A. K. Mrithyunjayan, "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva (A Rejoinder)," *IHQ*, VIII,3 (September, 1932), pp. 615–617.

[69] P. N. Bhattacharyya, "Nalanda Plate of Dharmapaladeva," *EI*, XXIII (1935–1936), pp. 290–292. This was found in the northern verandah of the monastery at Site No. 1.

[70] Kielhorn, "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva," pp. 245–251.

[71] His establishment of Vikramaśīla is known from Tāranātha (see Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 274–275) and confirmed by remains at the site. See below p. 91. Tāranātha credits his successor, Devapāla, with the establishment of Somapura Vihāra, the monastery at Pāhārpur *Ibid.*, p. 266), but sealings recovered there show that it was called Śrī-Dharmapāla Vihāra. K. N. Dikshit, "Excavations at Paharpur," *ASI,AR*, 1926–27, pp. 140–141.

[72] Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "Headdresses with Figurines in Buddhist art," *Indian Art and Letters*, N.S. XXI, 2 (1947), pp. 80–89, and also de Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara* (Paris: Civilisations du sud, 1948), pp. 156–157, 176–180. B. N. Misra, "Three Bodhisattva Images from Nalanda," *JUPHS*, N.S. I (1953), pp. 63–64, identified this figure as Siddhaikavīra, a form of Mañjuśrī, on the basis of the image's varada mudrā and Akṣobhya in the headdress. However, he does not hold the blue lotus (*nīlotpala*) essential to all forms of Mañjuśrī.

[73] *Ibid.*, p. 66

[74] *Ibid.*, pp. 66–67.

[75] For the attributes of Samantabhadra, see B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 83–84.

[76] J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabuḍur," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, CXXI (1965), p. 408. Note also Samantabhadra's important role as leader of the sixteen Bodhisattvas. B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 83.

[77] Misra, p. 67.

[78] Banerji, *EIMS*, plate XXXIVb.

[79] M. H. Kuraishi, "Excavations at Nalanda," *ASI,AR*, 1929–1930, p. 136. There the image is called Avalokiteśvara.

[80] For the identification of this figure as Siddhaikavīra, see de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, pp. 31–35.

[81] Marie-Thérèse de Mallmann, "A propos d'une sculpture du British Museum," *Oriental Art*, N.S. II (1956), pp. 64–65.

[82] Barrett, "An Early Pāla Bodhisattva," p. 19.

[83] Even at Sārnāth a different style had evolved by this time. See, for example, the Bodhisattvas illustrated in F. O. Oertel, "Excavations at Sarnath," *ASI,AR*, 1904–1905, plates XXVIIIc and d and XXIXa. Later, however, during the ninth and tenth centuries, the artists there worked in a fashion almost indistinguishable from the masters of Eastern India. See J. H. Marshall and Sten Konow, "Excavations at Sarnath, 1908," *ASI,AR*, 1907–1908, pl. XVII.

[84] Barrett, "An Early Pāla Bodhisattva," p. 19.

[85] Nevertheless, the image is identified in the Nālandā Museum as Maitreya.

[86] Hirananda Sastri, *AR* of the *ASI,EC*, 1919–1920, p. 38.

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material*, p. 118.

[89] B. Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 351.

[90] Hirananda Sastri, *AR* of the *ASI,EC*, 1919–1920, p. 38.

[91] Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, plate XLI.

[92] Alice Getty, *The Gods of Northern Buddhism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928), p. 171.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 174–177.

[94] Note the comparable figures at Ajaṇṭā Cave XIX. There with his consort a Nāgarāja, the preserver of sacred wisdom, appears on the left wall of the courtyard, while a preaching Buddha, the disseminator of sacred wisdom, appears opposite on the right wall.

[95] Hirananda Sastri, *AR* of the *ASI,CC*, 1920–1921, p. 38.

[96] The Balarāma of Devapāla's time is illustrated in Plate 178; two other bronze images bear inscriptions of Devapāla's time. See Sastri, *Nalanda and Its Epigraphical Material*, pp. 87–89.

[97] See above, p. 77.

[98] M. H. Kuraishi, "Excavations at Nalanda," *ASI,AR*, 1929–1930, pp. 136–137.

[99] *Ibid.* The monastery was destroyed by fire, but Kuraishi speculates that the fire may have occurred after the bronzes had been placed together for security and the monastery abandoned.

[100] Banerji, *EIMS*, plate XXa.

[101] Slusser, "On the Antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft," pp. 81–84.

[102] Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 4, and Zimmer, plate 102.

[103] For example, pairs of male figures bearing lotus flowers (literally Padmapāṇi, evoking the name of th Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara Padmapāṇi) flank the toraṇa uprights of the Great Stūpa at Sāñcī. Of course, it is not possible to say for sure whether these were conceived simply as guardians at the time the gateways were erected; but even if they were, it is noteworthy that they hold the attributes and occupy the position of subsequent Bodhisattvas. Susan Huntington first drew my attention to the possibility that these figures represent Bodhisattvas.

[104] For example, Banerji, *EIMS*, pp. 153–154.

[105] Further evidence that the Dhyāni Buddhas were not always intended comes from some miniature stūpas of the Gupta period that are adorned with four Buddhas, two of which have the hands in one mudrā and two in another. One such stūpa from Vārāṇasī is now in the Lucknow Museum, No. 49.120.

[106] *ASI,AR*, 1927–1928, pp. 159–160. The piece is illustrated in *ASI,AR*, 1928–1929, plate LVIIb.

[107] As images of Balarāma are rare in the art of Eastern India at any time, these two images bearing inscriptions of Devapāla's time are particularly noteworthy. A third bronze Balarāma, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London, but still unpublished, bears an inscription of Rājyapāla's time.

[108] Hsuan Tsang describes Nālandā's rigorous requirements for admission. See Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 170–171.

[109] Note, for example, Cave 285 at Tun Huang dated 538/39. There on the back wall are images of Śiva, Kārttikeya, an Gaṇeśa. Basil Gray, *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959), p. 43, plates 20–21.

[110] See expecially the *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, dating to the late eleventh or early twelfth century. For a discussion of the Hindu deities in the maṇḍalas of this text, see B. Bhattacharyya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī* (Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949), pp. 20–22.

Notes

[111] G. C. Chandra, "Nalanda Museum," *ASI,AR*, 1935–1936, p. 128, comments regarding several of the bronzes acquired by the museum: "The method of holding the *saṅghati* (upper garment), the pose of the body and the position of the right hand of each of the two figures in *abhaya mudra* indicate a marked difference in their modeling and finish from the Kurkihar specimens."

[112] Moreshwar G. Dikshit, "Some Buddhist Bronzes from Sirpur, Madhya Pradesh," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 5 (1955–1957), 10–11.

[113] *Ibid.*, plate Ib.

[114] *Ibid.*, plate 2a.

[115] *Ibid.*, plates 3a, 4a, 4b.

[116] A. J. Bernet-Kempers, *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933), pp. 10–11.

[117] *Ibid.*, pp. 70–77.

[118] For the provenance, see Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," pp. 108–109.

[119] Banerji, *EIMS*, plate IIId.

[120] *Ibid.*, p. 26.

[121] Chanda, "Jaina Remains at Rajgir," p. 126. Chanda further observed that the lotus on which the figure sits, composed of a single row of petals pointing upward, is characteristic of this date, although the Sarvāṇī dedicated in Devakhaḍga's reign (Plate 113) stands on a lotus with petals pointing both upward and downward, and so do several of the Nālandā bronze sculptures contemporary with this image.

[122] For example, a seated Ṛṣabhanātha from Mathurā, now preserved in the Lucknow Museum (J.57), is shielded by such an umbrella.

[123] Chanda, "Jaina Remains at Rajgir," p. 126.

[124] Elsewhere I have discussed the figure's provenance. Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," p. 112.

[125] *ASI,AR*, 1919–1920, plate XXIc.

[126] *ASI,AR*, 1935–1936, plate XXXVIIe.

[127] Chitta Ranjan Prasad Sinha, "Varāha-Viṣṇu in Art and Epigraph of Bihar," *JBRS*, LVI (1970), p. 56, ascribes the figure to the Gupta age, though that is much too early.

[128] Broadley, *Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgāon*. Like the Hindu sculptures found in the compound of the Mahābodhi temple, many Hindu images, here all datable to the tenth century, were found at this site, just north of Nālandā's Great Stūpa.

[129] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. I, pp. 35–36. See also Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," p. 111.

[130] *Ibid.*, p. 108, for the provenance of the figure.

[131] D. R. Patil, *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar* (Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1963), p. 90, identifies the site as being within Patna District, though it is in Gayā District.

[132] Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," p. 108 and plate V, which shows the Gadādevī still intact.

[133] James Burgess, ed., "Extracts from the Journal of Colonel Colin MacKenzie's Pandit of His Route from Calcutta to Gaya in 1820," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXI (February, 1902), p. 69.

[134] Sinha, "Some Important Sculptural Acquisitions of the Patna Museum," pp. 155–160, reproduces some of the later images from this site, but none dates later than the end of the ninth century.

[135] *Ibid.*, p. 157.

[136] Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," p. 109.

[137] Among the very few sculptures at the site later than this are another Sūrya with a badly flaked surface and a very small standing Śiva, both datable to the time of Devapāla. They remain unpublished.

[138] Asher, "The Former Broadley Collection," p. 123.

[139] Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. III, pp. 161–162.

[140] D. C. Sircar, "Three Inscriptions from Valgudar," *EI*, XXVIII, 3 (July, 1949), pp. 137–144. An image of Sūrya from nearby Barauni, now in the collection of G. D. College, Begusarai, has been ascribed to this time, though it should not be dated earlier than the tenth century. Radha Krishna Choudary, "A Rare Sūrya Image from Barauni," *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 19th Session* (Agra, 1956), p. 131.

[141] Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 186–191.

[142] Later activity in the region is attested by abundant images dating from the ninth through eleventh centuries that remain in several villages. Inscriptional evidence, too, confirms its importance: Sircar, "Three Inscriptions from Valgudar," and D. C. Sircar, "Some Inscriptions from Bihar," *JBRS*, XXXVII, 3–4 (1951), pp. 1–13.

[143] Sahai, "Some Brahmanical Rock-Sculptures from Sultanganj."

[144] A second Sūrya with the full complement of attendants but dating to the later part of the ninth century also was found in the Gaṅgā Valley, at Mahrāwāṅ. Sinha, "Some Important Sculptural Acquisitions," plate XXVIII.

[145] Law, *Rājagṛiha*, p. 38, and B. C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography* (reprint ed., Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974), pp. 55–56.

[146] Markham Kittoe, "Places in the Province of Behar," *JASB*, XVI, 2 (July–December, 1847), p. 955, and Cunningham, *ASR*, vol. VIII, pp. 77–78. Only modern marble images are installed at the site, but the nearby villages of Tetrāwāṅ and Ghosrāwāṅ, both less than a mile away, have much older monuments, though they are Buddhist and Brahmanical, not Jaina.

[147] B. C. Law, *Historical Geography of Ancient India* (Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1954), pp. 205 and 214.

[148] Literary references identifying Champā as an important seat of Jainism extend back at least as far as the *Kalpa Sūtra*. As Champā was the capital of Aṅga during Mahāvīra's time and probably a more important city than it was later, there is no reason to doubt that the Magadhan Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra spent time there. However, no Jaina images older than the ones discussed here have been found in the vicinity of Bhāgalpur.

[149] P. C. Roy Chaudhury, ed., *Bihar District Gazetteers: Singhbhum* (Patna: Secretariat Press, 1958), pp. 449–450.

[150] R. C. Agrawala, "Matrka Reliefs in Early Indian Art," *East and West*, XXI, 1–2 (1971), pp. 84–87, points out that during the fifth–sixth century, Śiva almost invariably accompanied the Mātṛkās, replacing Skanda, who earlier had accompanied the Divine Mothers.

[151] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 494–495, and D. C. Sircar, "The Śākta Pīṭhas," *JASB*, XIV (1948), pp. 1–108.

[152] Panigrahi, *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*, figures 16–18, 48–53; Douglas Barrett, *Mukhalingam Temples* (Bombay: N. M. Tripathi, 1960), plates 3, 10, 18.

[153] Ramprasad Chanda, "Note on the Ancient Monuments of Mayurbhanj," *JBORS*, XIII, 2 (June, 1927), pp. 131–136, has commented on the Pāla traits of sculpture in Khiching, while among many other writers, S. K. Saraswati, *Architecture of Bengal* (Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj, 1976), especially pp. 52–64, and Susan L. Huntington, "Some Aspects of Bengal Stone Sculpture," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 1 (1975), pp. 19–28, have commented on the Orissan features of Bengali art.

[154] Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue*, pp. 93–95.

[155] Orissan sculpture of this date is exemplified by the images of the Rājarāṇī temple at Bhuvaneśvara; see Zimmer, *The Art of Indian Asia*, plates 340–343. For an image from Bengal dated to the twelfth century, see Banerji, *EIMS*, plate VId; note also the figure dated to the year 2 of Rāmapāla's reign, illustrated by Banerji in Plate Vc.

[156] L. S. S. O'Mally, ed., *Bengal District Gazetteers: Singhbhum, Saraikela and Kharsawan* (Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1910), pp. 229–231.

[157] Tāranātha credits Dharmapāla with the construction of Vikramaśīla and Devapāla with the construction of Somapura. See Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 266–267, 274–275. The Tibetan chronicler, however, is probably incorrect in reporting that Devapāla established Somapura.

First, the legend he quotes is also cited by Bu-ston with regard to the foundation of Odantāpura Vihāra, in fact established by Devapāla. Second, terracotta sealings found at Pāhārpur show that the place was known as Somapura Dharmapāla Mahāvihāra, suggesting that it, like Vikramaśīla, was founded by the second Pāla monarch. K. N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, p. 90.

158 The inscriptional evidence associating the site with Vikramaśīla is inconclusive. See R. C. Prasad Singh, "Antichak, The Seat of Vikramaśīlā University," *JBRS*, XLVI (1960), pp. 135–138. However, the location corresponds perfectly with Tāranātha's description of the site. See Chimpa and Chattopadhyaya, pp. 274–275 and F. M. Asher, "Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 2 (July, 1975), pp. 107–108.

159 Sarkar, *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*, p. 66.

160 Note that in other respects as well this vihāra may have served as a model for the plan of the monasteries at Antichak and Pāhārpur. See below, pp. 98–99.

161 J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangaṛh," *Artibus Asiae*, XIX (1956), pp. 279–290.

162 *Ibid.*, figure 2.

163 Saraswati, *Architecture of Bengal*, figure 15. He calls the form a caitya, though in its lower portion it is not significantly different from the monuments at Pāhārpur and Antichak here called stūpas.

164 *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1961–1962, plate IIIA depicts the remains of an image in the chamber of the southern side, while *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1962–1963, plate IXA shows the remains of an image in an unspecified chamber.

165 The terracotta panels of Pāhārpur have been reproduced by Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, plates XXXIX–LVII. For the terracotta panels of Antichak, see Bhagwant Sahai, "Terracotta Plaques from Antichak," *JBRS*, LVII (1971), pp. 57–76, and Asher, "Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra," figures 3–8.

166 This seems likely on the basis of analogy with Borobuḍur, where the symbolic meaning of the monument's various levels is relatively clear. See van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabuḍur."

167 For example, see Saraswati, *ESB*, p. 108, and Niharranjan Ray in Majumdar, *HB*, pp. 527–528.

168 V. S. Agrawala, "The Terracottas of Ahichchhatrā," *Ancient India*, 4 (July, 1947–January, 1948), p. 167.

169 Saraswati, *ESB*, pp. 37–49.

170 *Ibid.*

171 Dikshit, "Paharpur Copper-Plate Grant of the [Gupta] Year 159," pp. 59–64.

172 Saraswati, *ESB*, p. 89. This is the only Buddhist image among the sculptures of the monument's basement wall and is further set apart from the rest by a small masonry tank built before it. See Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, plate XXXIVc.

173 J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw, "The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur," *Antiquity and Survival*, 2 (1957), pp. 29–42.

174 Bhattacharyya, ed., *Niṣpannayogāvalī*, pp. 60–68, for the *Dharmadhātu-Vāgīśvara Maṇḍala*, one of several which places Hindu deities in the outer circle.

175 Gordon H. Luce, *Old Burma — Early Pagan* (Locust Valley, New York: Artibus Asiae, 1969), p. 260.

176 Vats, plate Xa.

177 S. K. Saraswati, "The Begunia Group of Temples," *JISOA*, I, 2 (December, 1933), pp. 124–128.

178 *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1926–1927, p. 5 and 1928–1929, p. 19.

179 de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, p. 18.

180 Rosenfield, "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," figure 7.

181 de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, p. 18.

182 For example, the Lokanātha from Nālandā illustrated in Plate 163 has an image of Akṣobhya in the headdress. De Mallmann, *Introduction à l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara*, pp. 178–180, acknowledges still other images of Lokanātha carry this Dhyāni Buddha in the headdress.

183 *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1927–1928, "Note on Additions," p. 4.

184 Banerji, *EIMS*, Plates LXVIIa, LXVIIb, LXXIVa, LXXIVb.

185 Nazimuddin Ahmed, "Recent Discoveries at Bhāsu-Bihār," pp. 11–18.

186 J. C. French, *The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal* (London: Humphrey Milford, 1928), pp. 3–4 and plate III.

187 Enamul Haque, *Treasures in the Dacca Museum* (Dacca: Dacca Museum, 1963), pp. 10–11.

188 Enamul Haque, "Lakṣmī Images from Bengal: An Iconographic Study," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 1 (1975), pp. 37–38.

189 For further documentation of this, see S. Huntington, "Some Aspects of Bengal Stone Sculpture," p. 20.

190 A head from Dinājpur, called colossal by S. K. Saraswati though actually life-size, has been assigned to Kuṣāṇa times, but its Kuṣāṇa affinities are superficial at best. Saraswati, *ESB*, p. 14.

191 Huntington, "Some Aspects of Bengal Stone Sculpture," figure 8.

192 S. K. Saraswati, "Notes on Two Tours in the Districts of Māldah and Dinājpur," *Journal Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXVIII (1932), plate 7, figure 1.

193 *Ibid.*

194 Saraswati, *ESB*, figure 6.

195 *ASI,AR*, 1929–1930, Plate XXXVIb.

196 See above, pp. 32–33 and 54–55.

197 This is shown by many sculptures from Dinājpur District preserved in the Varendra Research Museum and the Indian Museum. The very important holdings of the Dinājpur Museum were almost completely pillaged during the tragic turmoil that occurred at the birth of Bangladesh.

198 The figure was found in a field west of one of the village's two principal mounds, the Uparbari. See *ASI,AR*, 1923–1924, p. 79.

199 *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1931–1932, p. 11.

200 S. Siddhanta, "Some Recently Acquired Sculptures in the Varendra Research Museum," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, III (1974), pp. 104–105. Though assigned to the eighth century, the figure is more formal and hieratic than any image of this time and more properly should be dated to the ninth century.

201 An old photograph taken by the Archaeological Survey of India (Negative Number 5340) shows sculptures probably dating to the eighth century stored in a school in Sahebganj, five miles to the west. Could these have come from Sakrigali, from the same monument as the doorframe moulding? If not, they at least indicate more extensive work in the vicinity.

202 Gupta, *Patna Museum Catalogue*, p. 74.

203 For example, compare the face of a Pārvatī in a Kalyāṇasundaramūrti from Kanauj. A. Goswami, ed., *Indian Temple Sculpture* (Calcutta: A. Goswami, 1956), Plate 15.

204 See a figure from Midnapur in the Asutosh Museum illustrated in Kalpana Desai, *Iconography of Viṣṇu* (New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1973), figure 48.

205 Saraswati, *ESB*, figure 6.

206 Saraswati, "Notes on Two Tours," Plate 7, figure 1.

207 Beal, *Si-Yu-Ki*, vol. II, pp. 199–201.

208 Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, p. 148, concludes that the Devas ruled between 750–800.

209 Khan, *Mainamati*, pp. 8–13.

210 This is a copperplate inscription of Vainyagupta. See Morrison, *Lalmai*, pp. 24, 98.

211 *Ibid.*, pp. 26–27. Of these plates, one was actually issued by Anandadeva but endorsed by Bhavadeva, his successor.

Notes

[212] *Ibid.*, p. 27

[213] Rashid, *The Early History of South-East Bengal*, p. 188.

[214] *Ibid.*, p. 172.

[215] For the distinction between these two poses, see Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 432.

[216] de Mallmann, *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*, pp. 18, 24, 53, 63.

[217] *Ibid.*, pp. 36–42. Also Bhattacharyya, *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*, p. 102.

[218] Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures*, pp. 53–54, provides the correct provenance, although twice R. D. Banerji identifies the figure as Chaṇḍī and reports that it came from Sonārang in Dacca District. Apparently he confused the source (and date!) of this sculpture with that of another bronze image. See R. D. Banerji, "Metal Images in the Dacca Museum," *ASI,AR*, 1924–1925, p. 156, and Banerji, *EIMS*, Plates LXVIIIb and LXXIVb.

[219] Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures*, pp. 53–54.

[220] Banerjea, *Development of Hindu Iconography*, pp. 547–548.

[221] *ASI,AR*, 1929–1930, Plate XLIIIf.

[222] Banerji, "Metal Images in the Dacca Museum," p. 156, dates the figure to the tenth century, when Mahīpāla I extended Pāla authority over the area. However, a comparison with dated sculptures of that time, for example the Viṣṇu illustrated in Banerji, *EIMS*, Plate IVd, will confirm that this Lokanātha is much earlier.

[223] Chaudhury, *Dynastic History of Bengal*, pp. 154–178.

[224] See above, pp. 28–29.

[225] D. C. Sircar, "Pala Rule in the Tippera District," *IHQ*, XXVIII (1952), pp. 51–57.

[226] A Viṣṇu dated in the third year of Mahīpāla's reign comes from Baghaura. See Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures*, pp. 84–85. A Gaṇeśa from Nārāyaṇpur is dated in the fourth year of Mahipala's reign. See D. C. Sircar, "Nārāyaṇpur Vināyaka Image Inscription of King Mahīpāla — Regnal Year 4," *Indian Culture*, IX (1942–1943), pp. 121–125.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Bibliography

Books

Agni Purāṇa. Translated by Manmatha Nāth Dutt Shastrī. 2 vols. Varanasi: Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, 1967.

Agrawala, Prithvi Kumar. *Gupta Temple Architecture*. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1968.

Agrawala, R. C. *Sculptures from Udaipur Museum*. Jaipur: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, 1960.

Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan. *Matsya Purāṇa — A Study*. Varanasi: All India Kashiraj Trust, 1963.

Ahmad, Enayad. *Bihar: A Physical, Economic and Regional Geography*. Ranchi: Ranchi University, 1965.

Ahmed, Nazimuddin. *Mahasthan; A Preliminary Report on Archaeological Excavations*. Karachi: Department of Archaeology and Museums, 1971.

Altekar, Anant Sadashiv. *The Coinage of the Gupta Empire*. Vol IV: *Corpus of Indian Coins*. Varanasi: Numismatic Society of India, 1957.

Altekar, Anant Sadashiv and Misra, Vijayakant. *Report on Kumrahar Excavations, 1951–55*. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1959.

Anderson, John. *Catalogue and Hand-book of the Archaeological Collections in the Indian Museum*. Calcutta: Trustees of the Indian Museum, 1883.

Ashton, Leigh, ed. *The Art of India and Pakistan*. London: Faber and Faber, Ltd., 1949.

Bachhofer, Ludwig. *Early Indian Sculpture*. New York: Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1929.

Banerjea, Jitendra Nath. *The Development of Hindu Iconography*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1956.

Banerji, Rakhal Das. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*. Varanasi: Banaras Hindu University, 1933.

———. *Basreliefs of Badami*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 25. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1928.

———. *Eastern Indian School of Medieval Sculpture*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XLVII. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1933.

———. *The Temple of Śiva at Bhumara*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 16. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publications Branch, 1924.

Barrett, Douglas. *Mukhalingam Temples*. Bombay: N. M. Tripathi, 1960.

Barua, Benimadhab. *Gayā and Buddha-Gayā*. Calcutta: Indian Research Institute, 1934.

Barua, Birinchi Kumar. *A Cultural History of Assam (Early Period)*. Gauhati: B. N. Dutta Barooah, 1969.

Barua, Dipak Kumar. *Vihāras in Ancient India*. Calcutta: Indian Publications, 1969.

Basak, Radhagovinda. *The History of North-Eastern India, Extending From the Foundation of the Gupta Empire to the Rise of the Pāla Dynasty of Bengal (c. 320–760 A.D.)*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., 1934.

Basak, Radhagovinda and Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra. *A Catalogue of the Archaeological Relics in the Museum of the Varendra Research Society, Rajshahi*. Rajshahi: The Varendra Research Society, 1919.

Basham, A. L. *History and Doctrines of the Ājivikas; A Vanished Indian Religion*. London: Luzac, 1951.

Beal, Samuel, trans. *Si-Yu-Ki; Buddhist Records of the Western World*. 2 vols. London: Trubner, 1884.

———.*The Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by the Shaman Hwui Li. With an Introduction Containing an Account of the Works of I-Tsing*. London: Kegan Paul, 1911.

———. *Travels of Fah-hian and Sung-yun, Buddhist Pilgrims from China to India (400 A.D. and 518 A.D.)*, London: Trubner, 1869.

Begley, Wayne. *Viṣṇu's Flaming Wheel; The Iconography of the Sudarśana-Cakra*. New York: New York University Press, 1973.

Bengal District Gazetteers. Edited by L. S. S. O'Mally. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Book Depot, 1906–1923.

Bernet-Kempers, A. J. *The Bronzes of Nalanda and Hindu-Javanese Art*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1933.

Bhāgavata Purāṇa. Translated by a Board of Scholars and Edited by J. L. Shastri. 3 vols. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1976.

Bhardwaj, Surinder Mohan. *Hindu Places of Pilgrimage in India*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1973.

Bhattacharya, Brindavan Chandra. *The Jaina Iconography*. Reprint edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1974.

Bhattacharya, U. C. *Catalogue and Guide to the Rajputana Museum, Ajmer*. Jaipur: Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of Rajasthan, 1961.

Bhattacharyya, Benoytosh. *The Indian Buddhist Iconography*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1958.

Bhattasali, Nalini Kanta. *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*. Dacca: Dacca Museum Committee, 1929.

Bibliography

Bidyabinod, Binoda Bihari. *Varieties of the Vishnu Image*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 2. Calcutta: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1920.

Bihar District Gazetteers. Edited by P. C. Roy Chaudhury. Patna: Secretariat Press, 1957–1970.

Bloch, Theodor. *Supplementary Catalogue of the Archaeological Collection of the Indian Museum*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1911.

Broadley, Alexander Meyrick. *The Antiquities of Bihar in Patna*. Part I: *The Buddhist Remains*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1872.

———. *Ruins of the Nalanda Monasteries at Burgāon, Sub-Division Bihar, Zillah Patna*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1872.

Buchanan-Hamilton, Francis. *An Account of Assam; First Compiled in 1807–1814 by Francis Hamilton*. Edited by S. K. Bhuyan. Reprint edition; Gauhati: Department of Historical and Antiquarian Studies, 1963.

———. *An Account of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–11*. Edited by Anantaprasada Vandyopadhyaya Sastri. Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1939.

———. *An Account of the District of Shahabad in 1809–10*. Edited by C.E.A.W. Oldham and Anantaprasada Vandyopadhyaya Sastri. Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1934.

———. *An Account of the Districts of Bihar and Patna in 1811–12*. Edited by John Francis William James. 2 vols. Patna: Bihar and Orissa Research Society, 1936.

———. *A Geographical, Statistical, and Historical Description of the District, or Zila, of Dinajpur in the Province, or Goubah, of Bengal*. Calcutta: Baptist Mission Press, 1833.

———. *Journal Kept During the Survey of the District of Bhagalpur in 1810–1811*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by C.E.A.W. Oldham. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1930.

———. *Journal Kept During the Survey of the District of Shahabad in 1812–1813*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by C.E.A.W. Oldham. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1926.

———. *Journal Kept During the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811–1812*. Edited with Introduction and Notes by V. H. Jackson. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, 1925.

Burgess, James. *The Ancient Monuments, Temples, and Sculptures of India*. London: W. Griffs, n.d.

Chanda, Ramprasad. *A Guide-Book to the Exhibition of Relics of Antiquity and Manuscripts*. Rajashahi: Varendra Research Society, 1912.

Chandra, Moti, ed. *Seminar on Art History*. New Delhi: Lalit Kala Akademi, 1962.

Chandra, Pramod. *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*. Poona: American Institute of Indian Studies, 1971.

Chaudhury, Abdul Momin. *Dynastic History of Bengal*. Dacca: The Asiatic Society, 1967.

Chaudhury, Binayendra Nath. *Buddhist Centers in Ancient India*. Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1969.

Chaudhury, P. D. *Archaeology in Assam*. Gauhati: Department of Archaeology, Assam, 1964.

Choudhary, Radha Krishna. *Select Inscriptions of Bihar*. Patna: Shanti Devi, 1958.

Commaraswamy, Ananda Kentish. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. London: Edward Goldston, 1927.

———. *La sculpture de Bodhgayā. Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XVIII. Paris: Éditions d'art et d'histoire, 1935.

Cunningham, Alexander. *The Ancient Geography of India*. Reprint edition; Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1963.

———. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*. 23 vols. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, 1871–1887.

———. *Mahābodhi; or the Great Buddhist Temple Under the Bodhi Tree at Buddha-Gayā*. London: W. H. Allen, 1892.

Das, Sudhir Ranjan. *Archaeological Discoveries from Murśidābād*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1971.

———. *Rājbāḍīdāṅgā: 1962*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1968.

Das Gupta, Charu Chandra. *Paharpur and its Monuments*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1961.

Das Gupta, Paresh Chandra. *Archaeological Discovery in West Bengal. A Bulletin of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal*. Calcutta: Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal, 1963.

———. *The Archaeological Treasures of Tamralipta*. Tamluk: Tamralipta Museum and Research Centre [1975].

Dayal, P. *Bihar in Maps; With Explanatory Text*. Patna: Kusum Prakashan, 1953.

Desai, Kalpana. *Iconography of Viṣṇu*. New Delhi: Abhinav Publications, 1973.

Deva, Krishna. *Temples of North India*. New Delhi: National Book Trust, India, 1969.

Dikshit, Kashinath Narayan. *Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 55. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938.

Divyāvadāna. Edited by E. B. Cowell and R. A. Neil. Cambridge: The University Press, 1886.

Dutt, Sukumar. *Buddhist Monks and Monasteries of India; Their History and Contribution to Indian Culture*. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1962.

Fergusson, James and Burgess, James. *The Cave Temples of India*. London: W. H. Allen, 1880.

Fleet, John Faithful. *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings and Their Successors*. Vol. III: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1888.

Foucher, Alfred. *L'Art greéco-bouddhique du Gandhāra*. 2 vols. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1905–1951.

French, J. C. *The Art of the Pal Empire of Bengal*. London: Humphrey Milford, 1928.

Ganguly, Manmohan. *Handbook to the Sculptures in the Bangiya Sahitya Parishad*. Calcutta: Bangiya Sahitya Parishad, 1922.

Gazetteer of India and Pākistān. Prepared by the Indian Army General Staff, Geographical Section. 2 vols. Delhi: Director of Military Service, 1950–1953.

Getty, Alice. *The Gods of Northern Buddhism*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1928.

Ghosh, Amalananda. *Nālandā*. New Delhi: Archaeological Survey of India, 1971.

———, ed. *Jaina Art and Architecture*. 3 vols. New Delhi: Bharatiya Jnanpith, 1974.

Ghoshal, U. U. *Somapura — An Ancient Buddhist Monastery in Varendri*. Varendra Research Society Monographs, No. 5. Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1934.

Giles, Herbert Allen, trans. *The Travels of Fa-hsien (399–414), or Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*. Cambridge: University Press, 1923.

Gnoli, Raniero. *Nepalese Inscriptions in Gupta Characters*. Materials for the Study of Nepalese History and Culture, 2. Roma: Istituta Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Oriente, 1956.

Goswami, A., ed. *Indian Temple Sculpture*. Calcutta: A Goswami, 1956.

Goswami, Kunja Gobinda. *Excavations at Bangarh, 1938–41*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1948.

Goyal, S. R. *A History of the Imperial Guptas*. Allahabad: Central Book Depot, 1967.

Gray, Basil. *Buddhist Cave Paintings at Tun-huang*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1959.

Grierson, George Abraham. *Notes on the District of Gaya*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1893.

Guhyasamāja Tantra or Tathāgataguhyaka. Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 53. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1931.

Gupta, Kamalakanta. *Copper Plates of Sylhet*. Sylhet: K. Gupta, 1967.

Bibliography

Gupta, Parameshwari Lal. *Gangetic Valley Terracotta Art*. Varanasi: Prithivi Prakashan, 1972.

———. *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities (Stone Sculptures, Metal Images, Terracottas and Minor Antiquities)*. Patna: Patna Museum, 1965.

Haque, Enamul. *Treasures in the Dacca Museum*. Dacca: Dacca Museum, 1963.

Harle, James C. *Gupta Sculpture*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1974.

Harris, E. B. *Description of Buddhist Remains Discovered at Sooltangunge on the River Ganges, 1862–3*. London: A. Williams, 1864.

Harṣa-Carita of Bāṇa. Translated by E. B. Cowell and F. W. Thomas. Reprint edition. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1968.

Imperial Gazetteer of India. Vol. XXVI: *Atlas*. Edited by J. G. Bartholomew. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1931.

The Indian Museum, 1814–1914. Calcutta: Trustees of the Indian Museum, 1914.

Ingholt, Harald. *Gandhāran Art in Pakistan*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1957.

Joshi, Nilakanth Purushottam. *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Sculptures in the State Museum, Lucknow*. Lucknow: State Museum, 1972.

Julien, Stanislas, trans. *Histoire de la vie de Hiouen-thsang et ses voyages dans l'Inde depuis l'an 629 jusqu'en 645*. Paris: Imprimerie Impériale, 1853.

Khan, F. A. *Mainamati; A Preliminary Report on Recent Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan*. Karachi: Department of Archaeology, 1963.

———. *Third Phase of Archaeological Excavations in East Pakistan*. Dacca: Public Relations Department, Government of Pakistan, 1958.

Kramrisch, Stella. *The Art of Nepal*. New York: The Asia Society, 1964.

———. *The Hindu Temple*. 2 vols. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1946.

———. *Indian Sculpture in the Philadelphia Museum of Art*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1960.

Kuraishi, Mohammad Hamid. *Rājgir*. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1956.

Lalita Vistara. Translated by Philippe Édouard Foucaux. 2 vols. Paris: E. Leroux, 1884–1892.

Law, Bimala Churn. *Historical Geography of Ancient India*. Paris: Société Asiatique de Paris, 1954.

———. *India as Described in Early Texts of Buddhism and Jainism*. London: Luzac, 1941.

———. *Rājagṛiha in Ancient Literature*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 58. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1938.

Lee, Sherman E. *Ancient Sculpture of India*. Cleveland: The Cleveland Museum of Art, 1964.

———. *Asian Art: Selections from the Collection of Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd*. New York: The Asia Society, 1970.

Legge, James, trans. *A Record of Buddhistic Kingdoms; Being an Account by the Chinese Monk Fa-hien of His Travels in India and Ceylon (A.D. 399–414) in Search of the Buddhist Books of Discipline*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1886.

Lippe, Aschwin. *The Art of India: Stone Sculpture*. New York: The Asia Society, 1962.

List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal. Revised and Corrected up to 31st August 1895. Prepared by the Government of Bengal, Public Works Department. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1896.

List of Ancient Monuments Protected Under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa. Prepared by Mohammad Hamid Kuraishi. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. LI. Calcutta: Government of India, Central Publication Branch, 1931.

List of Archaeological Photo-Negatives Stored in the Office of the Director General of Archaeology in India, Simla. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1936.

List of the Objects of Antiquarian Interest in the Lower Provinces of Bengal. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1879.

List of Photographic Negatives of Indian Antiquities in the Collection of the Indian Museum; With Which is Incorporated the List of Similar Negatives in the Possession of the India Office. Calcutta: Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1900.

List of Photo-Negatives Stored in the Office of the Superintendent, Archaeological Section, Indian Museum, Calcutta. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1939.

Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. van. *The "Scythian" Period*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1949.

Luce, Gordon H. *Old Burma — Early Pagan*. 3 vols. Locust Valley, New York: Artibus Asiae, 1969.

Lüders, Heinrich. *Mathurā Inscriptions*. Unpublished papers edited by Klaus L. Janert. Gottingen: Vandenhoeck and Ruprecht, 1961.

Mahāvastu. Translated by J. J. Jones. 3 vols. London: Luzac, 1949–1956.

Maitra, Akshay Kumar. *The Ancient Monuments of Varendra (North Bengal)*. Varendra Research Society Monographs, No. 7. Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1949.

Maity, Sachindra Kumar and Mukherji, Ramaranjan. *Corpus of Bengal Inscriptions Bearing on History and Civilization of Bengal*. Calcutta: K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1967.

Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra, ed. *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*. Vol. IV: *History and Culture of the Indian People*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1955.

———. *The Age of Imperial Unity*. Vol. II: *History and Culture of the Indian People*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1951.

———. *The Classical Age*. Vol. III: *History and Culture of the Indian People*. Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1954.

———. *History of Bengal*. Vol. I: *The Hindu Period*. Dacca: University of Dacca, 1943.

Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra and Altekar, A. S., eds. *The Vākāṭaka-Gupta Gupta Age*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1946.

de Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse. *Les Enseignements iconographiques de l'Agni-Purana*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963.

———. *Étude iconographique sur Mañjuśrī*. Publications de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient, Vol. LV. Paris: École Française d'Extrême-Orient, 1964.

———. *Introduction a l'étude d'Avalokiteçvara*. Paris: Civilisations du Sud, 1948.

Marshall, John. *Taxila*. 3 vols. Cambridge: The University Press, 1951.

Martin, Montgomery, ed. *History, Antiquities, Topography, and Statistics of Eastern India; Comprising the Districts of Behar, Shahabad, Bhagulpoor, Goruckpoor, Dinajpur, Purniya, Rungpoor, and Assam*. 3 vols. London: William H. Allen, 1836–1838.

Matsya Purāṇa. Translation edited by Jamna Das Akhtar. Reprint edition; Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1972.

Melik-Beglaroff, Joseph Daviditch (J. D. Beglar). *Archaeological Survey of Bengal; Reports for 1887, 1888*. Calcutta: Catholic Orphan Press, 1888.

Mishra, Yogendra and Roy, Sita Ram. *A Guide to Vaisali and the Vaisali Museum*. Vaisali: Vaisali Sangha, 1964.

Mitra, Debala. *Buddhist Monuments*. Calcutta: Sahitya Samsad, 1971.

———. *Telkupi; A Submerged Temple-Site in West Bengal*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 76. Delhi: Manager of Publications, Government of India, 1969.

Mitra, Rajendralala. *Buddha-Gaya; the Hermitage of Śakya Muni*. Calcutta: The Bengal Secretariat Press, 1878.

Monier-Williams, Monier. *Brahmanism and Hinduism*. London: John Murray, 1891.

Morrison, Barrie M. *Lalmai; A Cultural Center of Early Bengal*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1974.

———. *Political Centers and Culture Regions in Early Bengal*. Tucson: Association for Asian Studies, 1970.

Mukherjee, Prabhat. *The Buddhist Remains of Orissa*. Cuttack: Government of Orissa, Home Department, 1964.

Bibliography

Nanavati, J. A. and Dhaky, M. A. *The Maitraka and Saindhava Temples of Gujarat*. Artibus Asiae Supplementum, Vol. XXVI. Ascona: Artibus Asiae, 1969.

Nicholas, C. W. and Paranavitana, S. *A Concise History of Ceylon*. Colombo: Ceylon University Press, 1961.

Niṣpannayogāvalī. Edited by Benoytosh Bhattacharyya. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, No. 109. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1949.

Pal, Pratapaditya. *The Arts of Nepal*. Part I: *Sculpture*. Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974.

———. *Bronzes of Kashmir*. Graz: Akademische Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, 1975.

———. *Vaisnava Iconology in Nepal*. Calcutta: The Asiatic Society, 1970.

Pandey, Lalita Prasad. *Sun Worship in Ancient India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1971.

Pandey, Mithila Sharan. *The Historical Geography and Topography of Bihar*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1963.

Panigrahi, Krishna Chandra. *Archaeological Remains at Bhubaneswar*. Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1961.

Patil, D. R. *The Antiquarian Remains in Bihar*. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1963.

Pires, Edward A. *The Maukharis*. Madras: B. G. Paul, 1934.

Qadir, M. A. A. *A Guide to Paharpur*. Karachi: Department of Archaeology, Government of Pakistan, 1963.

Rahman, Mukhlesur. *Report on the Working of the Varendra Research Museum (From 14 August, 1947 to 30 June, 1969)*. Rajshahi: University of Rajshahi, 1969.

Rahula, Walpola. *History of Buddhism in Ceylon*. Colombo: M.D. Gunasena, 1956.

Rosenfield, John M. *The Dynastic Arts of the Kushans*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967.

Rosenfield, John M., *et al. The Arts of India and Nepal: The Nasli and Alice Heeramaneck Collection*. Boston: Museum of Fine Arts, 1966.

Rowland, Benjamin, Jr. *The Art and Architecture of India: Buddhist, Hindu, Jain*. Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1967.

———. *The Evolution of the Buddha Image*. New York: The Asia Society, 1963.

Sahni, Daya Ram. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaeology at Sarnath*. Calcutta: Superintendent of Government Printing, 1914.

Sankalia, H. D. *The Nālandā University*. Delhi: Oriental Publishers, 1972.

Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar. *Architecture of Bengal*. Calcutta: G. Bharadwaj, 1976.

———. *Early Sculpture of Bengal*. Calcutta: Sambodhi Publications, 1962.

Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar and Sarkar, Kshitish, Chandra. *Kurkihar, Gaya and Bodh-Gaya*. Rajshahi: K. C. Sarkar, 1936.

Sarkar, H. *Studies in Early Buddhist Architecture of India*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1966.

Sastri, Hirananda. *Nalanda and its Epigraphic Material*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 66. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1942.

Schwartzberg, Joseph E., ed. *A Historical Atlas of South Asia*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1978.

Sen, Behoychandra. *Some Historical Aspects of the Inscriptions of Bengal (Pre-Muhammadan Epochs)*. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1942.

Sen, Prabhas Chandra. *Mahasthan and Its Environs*. Varendra Research Society Monographs, No. 2. Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1929.

Shah, Umakant P. *Akota Bronzes*. Bombay: Department of Archaeology, Government of Bombay, 1959.

———. *Studies in Jaina Art*. Varanasi: Jaina Cultural Research Society, 1955.

Sharma, Baijnath. *Harṣa and His Times*. Varanasi: Sushma Prakashan, 1970.

Shastri, Ajay Mitra. *India as Seen in the Bṛhatsamhita of Varāhamihira*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1969.

Sinha, Bindeshwari Prasad. *The Comprehensive History of Bihar*. Patna: K. P. Jayaswal Research Institute, 1974.

———. *The Decline of the Kingdom of Magadha (Cir. 455–1000 A.D.)*. Patna: Motilal Banarsidass, 1954.

Sircar, Dinesh Chand. *Epigraphic Discoveries in East Pakistan*. Calcutta: Sanskrit College, 1973.

———. *Indian Epigraphical Glossary*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1966.

———. *Studies in the Geography of Ancient and Medieval India*. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1960.

Śiva Purāṇa. Translated by a Board of Scholars and Edited by J. L. Shastri. Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1970.

Sivaramamurti, Calembur. *Nataraja in Art, Thought and Literature*. New Delhi: National Museum of India, 1974.

———. *Some Aspects of Indian Culture*. New Delhi: National Museum of India, 1969.

———. *South Indian Bronzes*. New Delhi: Lalit Kalā Akademi, 1963.

Smith, Vincent Arthur. *The Jain Stūpa and Other Antiquities of Mathurā*. Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, Vol. XX. Reprint edition. Varanasi: Indological Book House, 1969.

Spate, Oskar Hermann Khristian. *India and Pakistan; A General and Regional Geography*. London: Methuen, 1967.

Srivastava, B. N. *History of the Maukharis of Kanauj During the Seventh Century A.D.* Bulletin of the U.P. Historical Society, No. 1. Lucknow: U.P. Historical Society, 1958.

———. *Śaśāṅka, King of Gauḍa*. Bulletin of the U.P. Historical Society, No. 3. Lucknow: U.P. Historical Society, 1965.

Suru, N. G., ed. *Vākpatirāja's Gauḍavaho*. Ahmedabad: Prakrit Text Society, 1975.

Takakusu, J., trans. *A Record of the Buddhist Religion as Practiced in India and the Malay Archipelago (A.D. 671–695); by I-tsing*. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1896.

Tāranātha. *History of Buddhism in India*. Translated by Lama Chimpa and Alaka Chattopadhyaya. Simla: Indian Institute for Advanced Study, 1970.

Trubner, Henry, ed. *The Art of Greater India: 3000 B.C.–1800 A.D.* Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum, 1950.

Tucci, Giuseppe. *Tibetan Painted Scrolls*. Rome: Libreria dello Stato, 1949.

Varāhamihira. *Bṛhat Saṁhita*. Translated in part by H. Kern. *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1869–1874.

Vats, Madho Sarup. *The Gupta Temple at Deogarh*. Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, No. 70. Delhi: Manager of Publications, 1952.

Verma, Bhagwati Sharan. *Socio-Religious, Economic and Literary Condition of Bihar (From ca. 319 A.D. to 1000 A.D.)*. Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1962.

Viennot, Odette. *Les divinités fluviales Gaṅgā et Yamunā aux portes des sanctuaires de l'Inde*. Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1964.

Viṣṇudharmottara Purāṇa. Third *Khaṇḍa*. Edited with commentary by Priyabala Shah. 2 vols. Gaekwad's Oriental Series, Nos. 130, 137. Baroda: Oriental Institute, 1958–1961. Translated by Stella Kramrisch. Calcutta: Calcutta University, 1928.

Vogel, Jean Philippe. *La Sculpture de Mathurā. Ars Asiatica*, Vol. XV. Paris: Éditions G. van Oest, 1930.

Waddell, L. A. *Report on the Excavations at Pataliputra (Patna)*. Calcutta: Bengal Secretariat Press, 1903.

Watters, Thomas. *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India, 629–645 A.D.* 2 vols. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1904–1905.

West Bengal District Gazetteers. Edited by Jatindra Chandra Sengupta. Calcutta: Government of West Bengal, 1965–1972.

Winternitz, Maurice. *A History of Indian Literature*. 2 vols. Calcutta: University of Calcutta, 1927–1933.

Bibliography

Zimmer, Heinrich. *The Art of Indian Asia*. 2 vols. New York: Pantheon Books, 1964.

Articles

Agrawala, R. C. "Mātṛkā Reliefs in Early Indian Art," *East and West*, XXI, 1–2 (March–June, 1971), 79–89.

———. "Some Unpublished Scupltures from Southwestern Rajasthan," *Lalit Kalā*, 6 (October, 1959), 63–71.

———. "Unpublished Sculptures of Garuḍārūḍha Vishṇu from Eastern India," *Lalit Kalā*, 12 (October, 1962), 45.

Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan. "Brahmanical Images in Mathura Art," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, V (1937), 122–130.

———. "Terracotta Figurines of Ahichchhatrā, District Bareilly, U.P.," *Ancient India*, 4 (July, 1947–January, 1948), 104–179.

Ahmed, Nazimuddin. "Recent Discoveries at Bhāsu-Bihār," *Bangladesh* Lalit Kalā, I, 1 (January, 1975), 11–18.

Altekar, A. S. "Buxar Hoard of Kushana Coins," *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India*, XII, 2 (1950), 121–123.

———. "Nalanda," *Marg*, IX, 2 (March, 1956), 96–101.

Anderson, W. "An Attempt to Identify Some Places Mentioned in the Itinerary of Hiuan Thoang," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVI, 2 (July–December, 1847), 1183–1211.

Asher, Frederick M. "Bodhgayā Image of the Year 64: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LVIII (1972), 151–157.

———. "The Former Broadley Collection, Bihar Sharif," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXII (1970), 105–124.

———. "Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 2 (July, 1975), 107–113.

Bajpai, K. D. "New Buddhist Finds from Mathura," *Lalit Kalā*, III–IV (April, 1956–March 1957), 102–104.

Bandyopadhyay, Samaresh. "Post-Gupta Gold Coins of Bengal," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, V (1971–1972), 182–191.

Banerjea, Jitendra Nath. "An Abhicārika Viṣṇu Image," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII (1940), 159–162.

Banerjee, N. R. "Parvati's Penance as Revealed by the Eloquent Stones of Nepal," *Ancient Nepal*, II (January, 1968), 27–34.

Banerjee, S. K. "Sasanka, King of Bengal," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1951), 312–320.

Banerji, Adris. "Antiquity of Bihār-Sharīf," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII, 2 (1951), 151–160.

———. "Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1951), 294–303.

———. "Jaina Antiquities in Rājgir," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXV, 3 (1949), 205–210.

———. "Rock Sculptures in Bihar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XI (1969), 15–21.

———. "Traces of Jainism in Bengal," *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1–2 (1950), 164–168.

Banerji, Rakhal Das. "Four Sculptures from Chandimau," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1911–1912, pp. 161–166.

———. "Later Guptas of Magadh," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIV, 4 (1928), 254–265.

———. "Metal Images in the Dacca Museum," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924–1925, pp. 156–157.

———. "The Mundesvari Inscription of Udayasena. The [Harsa] Year 30," *Epigraphia Indica*, IX (1907–1908), 289–290.

———. "The Oldest Brahmanical Temples," *Modern Review*, XLV, 1 (January, 1929), 52–61.

———. "The Pālas of Bengal," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, 3 (1915), 47–112.

———. "Patiakella Grant of Maharaja Sivaraja, [Gupta] Samvat 283," *Epigraphia Indica*, IX (1907–1908), 285–288.

Banerji-Sastri, A. "Keur — A Probable Site of Vikramaśīlā," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XV (1929), 263–276.

———. "Ninety-three Inscriptions on the Kurkihar Bronzes," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXVI, 3 (1940), 236–251.

———. "Śuṅga Sculpture from a Patna Mosque," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, 4 (1937), 498–501.

Barrett, Douglas, "Bronzes from Northwest India and Western Pakistan," *Lalit Kalā*, 11 (April, 1962), 35–44.

———. "An Early Pāla Bodhisattva," *British Museum Quarterly*, XX, 1 (1955), 18–21.

———. "Gandhara Bronzes," *The Burlington Magazine*, XII, 698 (August, 1960), 361–365.

Barua, Benimadhab. "A Bodh-Gaya Image Inscription," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 2 (June, 1933), 417–419.

———. "The Old Brāhmī Inscription of Mahāsthān," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, X (1934), 57–66.

———. "Old Buddhist Shrines at Bodhgaya," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VI, 1 (1930), 1–31.

Basak, Radhagovinda. "Baigram Copper-Plate Inscription of the [Gupta]-Year 128," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI (1931–1932), 78–83.

———. "Dhanaidaha Copper-Plate Inscription of the Time of Kumaragupta I: The Year 113," *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 8 (October, 1924), 345–348.

———. "The Five Damodarpur Copper-Plate Inscriptions of the Gupta Period," *Epigraphia Indica*, XV (191–1920), 113–145.

Basu, K. K. "Some Old Accounts of Bhagalpur," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXI, 3 (1935), 139–190.

Bechert, Heinz. "Notes on the Formation of Buddhist Sects and the Origins of Mahāyāna," in *German Scholars on India*, Vol. I. Varanasi: Chowkhamba, 1973, pp. 6–18.

Bendall, Cecil. "An Inscription in a Buddhistic Variety of Nail-Head Characters," *The Indian Antiquary*, XIX (March, 1890), 77–78.

Beveridge, H. "The Antiquities of Bagura (Bogra)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLVII (1878), 88–95.

———. "The Site of Karṇa Suvarṇa," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXII (1894), 315–328.

Bhandarkar, D. R. "Mauryan Brahmi Inscription of Mahasthan," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, 2 (April, 1931), 83–91.

Bhattacharyya, Dinesh Chandra. "Harikela and Ruins at Maināmatī," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XX (1944), 1–8.

———. "A Newly Discovered Copperplate from Tippera," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VI (1930), 45–60.

Bhattacharyya, P. N. "Nalanda Plate of Dharmapaladeva," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIII, 7 (July, 1936), 290–292.

Bhattasali, Nalini Kanta. "A Forgotten Kingdom of East Bengal," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, X (1914), 85–91.

———. "Some Image Inscriptions from East Bengal," *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 7 (October, 1924), 349–362.

Bloch, Theodor. "Amauna Plate of the Maharaja Nandana; [Gupta-] Samvat 232," *Epigraphia Indica*, X (1909–1910), 49–51.

———. "Excavations at Basarh," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903–1904, pp. 81–122.

———. "Excavations at the Maniyar Math," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1905–1906, pp. 103–105.

———. "Notes on Bōdh Gayā," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1908–1909, pp. 139–158.

Bose, Rasbihari. "Mandara Hill," *The Indian Antiquary*, 1 (February 2, 1872), 46–54.

Bose, Santosh Kumar. "Recent Art and Archaeological Finds from Tamluk," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 2 (July, 1975), 131–134.

Bose, Sushil K. "Studies in Gupta Paleography," *Indian Culture*, IV (July, 1937–April, 1938), 181–188 and 325–346.

Broadley, Alexander Meyrick. "The Buddhistic Remains of Bihar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLI, 3 (1872), 209–312.

Burgess, James. "Extracts from the Journal of Colonel Colin MacKenzie's

Bibliography

Pandit of His Route from Calcutta to Gaya in 1820,'' *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXI (February, 1902), 65–75.

Chakrabortty, Surendra Kisore. ''The Gold Coins of Ancient Bengal,'' *Indian Culture*, IV (July, 1937–April, 1938), 222–227.

Chakravarti, S. N. ''Two Inscriptions from Barakar,'' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, II (1936), 21–25.

Chakravartti, Nilmani. ''Pāla Inscriptions in the Indian Museum,'' *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, IV (1908), 101–109.

Chanda, Ramprasad. ''Jaina Remains at Rajgir,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1925–1926, pp. 121–127.

———. ''The Mathura School of Sculpture,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922–1923, pp. 164–170.

———. ''Museums: Indian Museum, Calcutta,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1929–1930, pp. 191–201.

———. ''Note on the Ancient Monuments of Mahurbhanj,'' *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIII, 2 (June, 1927), 131–136.

Chandra, G. C. ''Museums: Nalanda Museum,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1935–1936, pp. 127–128.

Chandra, Pramod. ''Some Remarks on Bihar Sculpture,'' in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Aspects of Indian Art*. (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 59–64.

Chatterjee, S. K. ''Pāla Art of Gauḍa and Magadha,'' *Modern Review*, XLV (1929), 85.

Choudhary, Abhay Kant. ''The Mandar Hill — A General Survey,'' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, L (1964), 32–42.

Choudhary, Radha Krishna. ''A Rare Sūrya Image from Barauni,'' *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress, 19th Session* (Agra, 1956), p. 131.

———. ''A Short Report on the New Acquisition to JAHS Museum,'' *On Bihar*, G.D. College Bulletin Series, 4 (March, 1959), Appendix III.

Czuma, Stanislaw. ''Addenda: A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha,'' *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LVII, 4 (April, 1970), 127.

———. ''A Gupta Style Bronze Buddha,'' *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LVII, 2 (February, 1970), 55–67.

Das Gupta, Nalini Nath. ''The Buddhist Vihāras of Bengal,'' *Indian Culture*, I (July, 1934–April, 1935), 227–233.

Datta, Kalidas. ''Two Saura Images from the District of 24-Parganas,'' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IX, 1 (March, 1933), 202–207.

Dayal, Parameshwar. ''An Ancient Cave and Some Ancient Stūpas in the District of Gayā,'' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXXIII (1904), 30–35.

———. ''The Mallayaṣṭikā Grant of Nandana,'' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, V, 1 (May, 1909), 163–164.

Deva, Krishna. ''Lakṣmana Temple at Sirpur,'' *Journal of the Madhya Pradesh Itihasa Parishad*, II (1960), 35–42.

———. ''Nalanda Seal of Visnugupta,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVI, 5 (January, 1942), 235–239.

Deva, Krishna and Agrawala, Vasudeva Sharan. ''The Stone Temple at Nālandā,'' *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 4 (1950), 198–212.

Devi, Sushil Malti. ''Paucity of Coinage in North-Eastern India After the Fall of the Imperial Guptas,'' *The Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, IX, 1–2 (1971), 25–36.

Dey, Nundolal. ''Notes on Ancient Aṅga or the District of Bhagalpur,'' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, X (1914), 317–347.

———. ''The Vikramasilá Monastery,'' *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, V (1909), 1–12.

Dikshit, Kashinath Narayan. ''Excavations at Paharpur,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1926–1927, pp. 140–149.

———. ''Excavations in Bengal,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1928–1929, pp. 87–100.

———. ''A Note on the Dates of the Gupta Copper Plates from Damodarpur,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XVII, 5 (January, 1924), 193.

———. ''Parharpur Copper-Plate Grant of the [Gupta] Year 159,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 3 (July, 1929), 59–64.

Dikshit, Moreshwar G. ''Some Buddhist Bronzes from Sirpur, Madhya Pradesh,'' *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum of Western India*, 5 (1955–1957), 1–11.

Diskalkar, D. B. ''Some Brahmanical Sculptures in the Mathura Museum,'' *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, V, 1 (January, 1932), 18–57.

Dutt, Kalidas. ''The Antiquities of Khari,'' *Annual Report of the Varendra Research Society*, 1928–1929, Appendix, pp. 1–13.

Fabri, C. L. ''Further Excavations at Paharpur, Bengal,'' *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, VII (1932), 26–31.

Fergusson, James. ''On Hiouen-Thsang's Journey from Patna to Ballabhi,'' *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, New Series, VI (1873), 213–274.

Fleet, John Faithful. ''Sanskrit and Old-Kanarese Inscriptions,'' *The Indian Antiquary*, XV (December, 1886), 356–359.

———. ''Sanskrit and Old Kanarese Inscriptions; the Mahakuta Pillar Inscription of Mangalesa,'' *The Indian Antiquary*, XIX (January, 1890), 7–20.

Franz, Heinrich Gerhard. ''Die Ausgrabungen in Nālandā und die Baukunst des späten Buddhismus in Indien,'' *Ars Orientalis*, IV (1961), 187–205.

Gai, G. S. ''Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta,'' *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XVIII, 3 (March, 1969), 247–251.

Ghose, Ajit. ''An Image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara of the Time of Vainyagupta,'' *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIII (1945), 49–54.

Ghosh, Amalananda. ''A Bronze Image Inscription from Nalanda,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXV, 7 (July, 1940), 334–335.

———. ''An Inscribed Brick from Nalanda of the Year 197,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, 1 (January, 1937), 20–22.

———. ''Two Maukhari Seals from Nalanda,'' *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIV, 6 (April, 1938), 283–285.

Ghoshal, U. N. ''The Oldest Representation of the Śākta Cult in Bengal,'' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 3 (1940), 489–496.

———. ''Somapura — An Ancient Buddhist Monastery in Varendri,'' *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, No. 5 (Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1934), pp. 27–29.

Goetz, Hermann. ''Early Indian Sculptures from Nepāl,'' *Artibus Asiae*, XVIII, 1 (1955), 61–74.

Granoff, Phyllis. ''A Portable Buddhist Shrine from Central Asia,'' *Archives of Asian Art*, XXII (1968–1969), 81–95.

Gupta, Parameshwari Lal. ''Eastern Expansion of the Kuṣāṇa Empire,'' *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXIX, 3 (1953), 205–221.

———. ''Ekānaṁśā and Her Images,'' *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LIV (1968), 229–244.

———. ''The Predecessors of the Guptas in Magadha,'' *Indian Culture*, XI, 3 (January–March, 1945), 137–141.

Haque, Enamul. ''Lakṣmī Images from Bengal: An Iconographic Study,'' *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 1 (January, 1975), 33–40.

Hargreaves, H. ''Excavations at Sārnāth,'' *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1914–1915, pp. 97–131.

Harle, James C. ''Late Kusana, Early Gupta: A Reverse Approach,'' in Norman Hammond, ed., *South Asian Archaeology*, (Park Ridge, N.J.: Noyes Press, 1973), pp. 231–240.

Härtel, Herbert. ''The Apsidal Temple No. 2 at Sonkh,'' in J. E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw and J. M. M. Ubaghs, eds., *South Asian Archaeology 1973* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1974), pp. 103–110.

———. ''Die Kuṣāṇa-Horizonte im Hügel von Sonkh (Mathura),'' in Herbert Härtel and Volker Moeller, eds. *Indologen-Tagung, 1971* (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner, 1973), pp. 1–24.

———. ''New Kushān Finds from Sonkh,'' *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, 3 (June, 1969), 1–5.

Bibliography

Heras, H. "The Royal Patrons of the University of Nalanda," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XIV, 1 (1928), 1–23.

Hollis, Howard. "The Angel of the Discus," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, XXXIII (November, 1946), 164–165.

Huntington, John C. "The Lomās Ṛṣi: Another Look," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVIII (1974–75), 34–56.

Huntington, Susan L. "Some Aspects of Bengal Stone Sculpture," *Bangladesh Lalit Kalā*, I, 1 (January, 1975), 19–28.

Husain, Shahanara. "Archaeological Materials in Reconstructing the Early History of Bangladesh," *Journal of the Varendra Research Musuem*, I, 1 (1972), 1–7.

———. "Nalanda," *Rajshahi University Studies*, II (Undated), 17–19.

———. "Pāhārpur and its Material Contents," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, VI (1961), 1–10.

———. "The Terracotta Find-Spots of Pre-Muslim Bengal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, XV, 2 (August, 1970), 129–137.

———. "A Terracotta Head from Mahasthan," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, VII, 1–2 (1973–1974), 179–184.

———. "The Terracotta Plaques from Pāhārpur," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Pakistan*, VIII, 2 (December, 1963), 5–12.

Irwin, John C. "'Aśokan' Pillars: A Reassessment of the Evidence," Part IV: "Symbolism," *The Burlington Magazine*, CXVIII (November, 1976), 734–753.

———. "Some Unknown Gupta Sculptures from Sultānganj," *Artibus Asiae*, XVII, 1 (1954), 34–38.

Jackson, V. H. "Journal of Francis Buchanan (Patna and Gaya Districts)," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, VIII, 3–4 (1922), 145–366.

Jayaswal, K. P. "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, II, 2 (December, 1934), 70–82.

———. "A Note on A Terracotta Ramayana Panel of Gupta Period, and on Śikhara Temples," *Modern Review*, LII, 2 (August, 1932), 148–150.

Joshi, Nilakanth Purushottam. "Devī Ekānaṃśa-ki Kuṣāṇakālīn Mūrtiāṅ," *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, I (March, 1968), 24–29.

Khan, F. A. "Development of Archaeology in Bangladesh," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, I, 1 (1972), 8–22.

Khare, M. D. "Discovery of a Vishnu Temple Near the Heliodoros Pillar, Besnagar, Dist. Vidisha (M.P.)," *Lalit Kalā*, 13 (1967), 21–27.

Kielhorn, F. "Khalimpur Plate of Dharmapaladeva," *Epigraphia Indica*, IV (1896–97), 243–254.

Kittoe, Markham. "Notes on the Sculptures of Bodh Gaya," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVI, 1 (January–June, 1847), 334–339.

———. "Notes on the Viharas and Chaityas of Behar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVI, 1 (January–June, 1847), 272–279.

———. "Places in the Province of Behar, Supposed to be those Described by Chy-Fa-Hian, the Chinese Buddhist Priest, Who Made a Pilgrimage to India, at the Close of the Fourth Century," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVI, 2 (July–December, 1847), 953–970.

Konow, Sten. "The Inscription of the So-Called Bodhgaya Plaque," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Special Issue (1956), 281–284.

Kramrisch, Stella. "Die Figurale Plastik der Guptazeit," *Wiener Beiträge zur Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte Asiens*, V, 15 (1931), 14–29.

———. "A Note," appended to K. P. Jayaswal, "Metal Images of Kurkihar Monastery," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, II, 2 (December, 1943), 77–82.

———. "Pala and Sena Sculpture," *Rupam*, 40 (October, 1929), 107–126.

Kumar, S. "A Note on the Bengal School of Artists," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, XII, (1916), 23–28.

Kuraishi, Mohammad Hamid. "Excavations at Nālandā," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1929–1930, pp. 135–137.

Kuraishi, Mohammad Hamid and Chandra, G. C. "Excavations at Nālandā," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1930–1934, pp. 130–139.

Laskar, Ganga Mohan. "Ashrafpur Copper-Plate Grants of Devakhaḍga," *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, I (1905–1907), 85–91.

Law, Narendra Nath. "Some Images and Traces of Mahāyāna Buddhism in Chittagong," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 2 (1932), 332–341.

Lévi, Sylvain. "Wang Hiuen-ts'e et ses missions dans l'Inde," *Journal Asiatique*, New Series, XV (1900), 297–341.

Lohuizen-de Leeuw, J. E. van. "The Ancient Buddhist Monastery at Paharpur," *Antiquity and Survival*, 2.(1957), 29–42.

———. "The Date of Kaniṣka and Some Recently Published Images," in A. L. Basham, ed., *Papers on the Date of Kaniṣka* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1969), pp. 126–133.

———. "The Dhyāni-Buddhas of Barabuḍur," *Bijdragen Tot de Taal-, Land- en Volkenkunde*, CXXI (1965), 389–416.

———. "South-East Asian Architecture and the Stūpa of Nandangaṛh," *Artibus Asiae*, XIX (1956), 279–290.

Lüders, Heinrich. "A List of Brāhmī Inscriptions from the Earliest Times to About A.D. 400 with the Exception of those of Aśoka," *Epigraphia Indica*, X (1912), Appendix.

Majumdar, N. G. "Mallasarul Copper-plate of Vijayasena," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXIII, 5 (January, 1936), 155–161.

———. "The Muṇḍeśvarī Inscription of the Time of Udayasena: The Year 30," *The Indian Antiquary*, XLIX (1920), 21–29.

Majumdar, Ramesh Chandra. "The Date of the Khaḍga Dynasty of Bengal," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, XIX (1923), 375–379.

———. "The Harṣa Era," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1951), 183–190.

———. "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VII, 3 (September, 1931), 664.

———. "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 2 (June, 1932), 371–373.

Mallmann, Marie-Thérèse de. "Apropos d'une sculpture du British Museum," *Oriental Art*, New Series, II, 2 (1956), 64–65.

———. "Headdresses with Figurines in Buddhist Art," *Indian Art and Letters*, New Series, XXI, 2 (1947), 80–89.

Marcus, Margaret F. "Sculptures from Bihar and Bengal," *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art*, LIV, 8 (October, 1967), 240–262.

Marshall, John H. "Rājagṛiha and Its Remains," *Arhaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1905–1906, pp. 86–106.

Marshall, John H. and Konow, Sten. "Excavations at Sārnāth," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1907–1908, pp. 43–80.

———. "Sārnāth," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906–1907, pp. 68–101.

Meister, Michael W. "A Preliminary Report on the Śiva Temple at Kusumā," *Archives of Asian Art*, XVII (1973–74), 77–90.

Mishra, Shyam Manohar. "The Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmadeva — A Fresh Appraisal," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, III (1976), 108–115.

Misra, Bhaskar Nath. "Three Bodhisattva Images from Nalanda," *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, New Series, I, 1–2 (1953), 63–75.

Mitra, Kalipada. "Maṇiyār Maṭha and the Snake Cult," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIII, 4 (1937), 690–696.

Mitra, Rajendralala. "Notes on Gupta Inscriptions from Aphsar and Behar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXV, 4 (1866), 267–278.

———. "On the Buddhist Remains of Sultanganj," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII (1864), 360–372.

———. "On a Copper Plate Inscription from Dacca," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1885, pp. 49–52.

———. "On the Ruins of Buddha-Gayā," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXIII (1864), 173–187.

Bibliography

———. "On the Temples of Deoghar," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LII (1883), 164–204.

———. "Some Considerations on the History of Nepal," *The Indian Antiquary*, XIII (December, 1884), 411–428.

———. "Transcripts and Translations of Two Inscriptions from Buddha-Gayā," *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, 1880, pp. 76–80.

Mitra, Satischandra. "Bengal School of Art," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, I (1925), 69–79, 303–309.

Mookerji, Radhakumud. "Later Guptas of Magadha," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XV, 1–2 (1929), 251–258.

———. "The University of Nālandā," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXX, 2 (1944), 126–159.

Mrithyunjayan, A. K. "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 1 (March, 1932), 228–230.

———. "Nālandā Stone Inscription of Yaśovarmadeva (A Rejoinder)," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, VIII, 3 (September, 1932), 615–617.

Myer, Prudence R. "The Great Temple at Bodhgayā," *The Art Bulletin*, XL, 4 (December, 1958), 277–298.

Nath, Jagan. "The Location of the Tchina Temple and the Original Home of the Imperial Guptas," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXII, 1 (1946), 28–33.

———. "The Political Situation in Magadha in the Third Century A.D.," *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XII, 2 (December, 1939), 101–106.

Niyogi, Puspa. "Buddhism and Early Rulers of South-East Bengal," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, V (1971–1972), 171–181.

———. "Endowments in Favour of Early Buddhist Monasteries in Bengal and Bihar," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, VI (1972–1973), 160–165.

———. "Some Buddhist Monasteries in Ancient Bengal and Bihar," *Journal of Indian History*, LIV, 2 (1976), 273–298.

Norman, H. C. "Gandhakuṭī — The Buddha's Private Abode," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, IV (1908), 1–5.

O'Donnell, C. J. "Notes on Mahásthán Near Bagurá (Bogra), Eastern Bengal," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLIV, 1 (1875), 183–186.

Oertel, F. O. "Excavations at Sarnath," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1904–1905, pp. 59–104.

Oldham, C.E.A.W., ed. "The Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan (Afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) From the 1st November 1812 to the 26th February 1813, When Carrying Out His Survey of the District of Shahabad," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XI, 3–4 (1925), i–xxi, 201–392.

———. "The Journal of Dr. Francis Buchanan (Afterwards Buchanan Hamilton) From October 1810 to April 1811, When Carrying Out His Survey of the District of Bhagalpur," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XV, 3–4 (1929), i–xxxvii, 311–571.

Page, J. A. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1921–1922, pp. 73–74.

———. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1922–1923, pp. 104–107.

———. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1923–1924, pp. 70–74.

———. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924–1925, pp. 82–86.

———. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1925–1926, pp. 100–107.

———. "Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1926–1927, pp. 127–134.

———. "Excavations at Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1927–1928, pp. 97–101.

———. "Excavations at Nalanda," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1928–1929, pp. 85–87.

———. "Nalanda Museum," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1924–1925, pp. 135–136.

Panigrahi, Krishna Chandra. "The Archaeological Remains at Benisāgar in the Singhbhum District of Bihar," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLII, 1 (March, 1956), 1–11.

———. "Bhauma Art and Architecture of Orissa," *Arts Asiatiques*, IV, 4 (1957), 275–292.

———. "Temple of Muṇḍeśvarī in Shahabad," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLIV, 1–2 (March–June, 1958), 14–21.

Pargiter, F. E. "Three Copper-Plate Grants from East Bengal," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXXIX (1910), 193–216.

Pathak, V. S. "Gayā in Inscriptions of Northern India (700 A.D.–1200 A.D.)," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLIV, 3–4 (1958), 139–145.

Peppe, W. "Rough Notes on Some of the Antiquities in the Gayá District," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XXXV, 1 (1866), 49–59.

Prakash, Buddha. "The Problem of Harṣa Era," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXXII, 1 (1956), 90–95.

Prasad, H. K. "Jaina Bronzes in the Patna Museum," *Śrī Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyalaya Suvarnamahotsava Grantha* (Bombay: Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya, 1968), pp. 275–289.

Pratap, Birendra. "A Technological Study of Terracotta Figurines in India Before the Emergence of the Mould," *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, XXII, 1–2 (1972), 378–393.

Przyluski, Jean. "Le Symbolisme du Pillier de Sarnath," *Études d'Orientalisme à la Memoire de Raymonde Linossier*, Vol. II. (Paris: Musée Guimet, 1932), pp. 481–498.

Ramachandran, T. N. "The Kirātārjunīyam or 'Arjuna's Panance' in Indian Art," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XVIII (1950–1951), 1–110.

———. "Recent Archaeological Discoveries Along the Mainamati and Lalmai Ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal," *B. C. Law Volume*, Part II (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1946), pp. 213–231.

———. "Tāmraliptī (Tamluk)," *Artibus Asiae*, XIV, 3 (1951), 226–239.

Ray, Amita. "Some Stucco Sculptures from Rājbāḍīdāṅgā, Murshidabad," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, 2 (1973), 35–40.

Rosenfield, John M. "On the Dated Carvings of Sārnāth," *Artibus Asiae*, XXVI, 1 (1963), 10–26.

Sahai, Bhagwant. "Terracotta Plaques from Antichak," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LVII (1971), 57–76.

Sahai, Sachchidanand. "A Rare Sculpture of Revanta from Sultanganj," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVII (1961), 211–213.

———. "Some Brahmanical Rock-Sculptures from Sultanganj," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLIX, 2 (19633), 137–146.

Sahni, Daya Ram. "Notes on the Gorakhpur and Saran Districts," *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1906–1907, pp. 193–205.

Sanyal, Niradbandhu. "A Tour in Dinajpur and Rangpur," *Varendra Research Society's Monographs*, No. 4 (Rajshahi: Varendra Research Society, 1930), pp. 24–31.

Saraswati, Sarasi Kumar. "The Begunia Group of Temples," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, I, 2 (December, 1933), 124–128.

———. "The Date of the Paharpur Temple," *Indian Culture*, VII, 1 (1940), 35–40.

———. "A Kṛṣṇa Panel at Paharpur," *Indian Culture*, III (July, 1936–April, 1937), 195–197.

———. "Notes on a Fourth Tour in the District of Dināǰpur," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, II (1936), 9–19.

———. "Notes on a Third Tour in the District of Dināǰpur — Chiefly Along the Chirāmatī River," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, XXVIII (1932), 185–195.

———. "Notes on Two Tours in the Districts of Māldah and Dināǰpur," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, XXVIII (1932), 173–183.

———. "The Stupas of Bengal," *Journal of the Department of Letters, University of Calcutta*, XXIX (1937), 1–8.

———. "Temple Architecture in the Gupta Age," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, VIII (1940), 146–158.

———. "Temples of Bengal," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, II, 2 (December, 1934), 130–140.

Sarkar, Himansu Bhusan. "Bengal and Her Traffic-Routes in the Bay of Bengal and South East Asia (c. 300 B.C. to 300 A.D.)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, XIV, 2–4 (1972), 74–90.

Sastri, Hirananda. "The Clay Seals of Nalanda," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, 2 (April, 1931), 72–77.

———. "Nalanda in Ancient Literature," *Proceedings and Transactions of the Fifth Oriental Conference*, Vol. I (Lahore, 1930), pp. 386–400.

———. "Nalanda Stone Inscription of the Reign of Yasovarmmadeva," *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 1 (January, 1929), 37–46.

Sastri, Surendranath Majumdar. "The Hilsa Statue Inscription of the Thirty-fifth Year of Devapāla," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, X (1924), 31–36.

Saxena, K. S. "An Unfortunate King of Gauḍa," *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XIV (1966), 63–71.

Sen, Benoy Chandra. "Administration in pre-Pāla Bengal," *Indian Culture*, VI (July, 1939–April, 1940), 151–178.

Shah, Umakant P. "Age of Differentiation of Digambara and Śvetāmbara Images and the Earliest Known Śvetāmbara Bronzes," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, I (1950–1951), 30–40.

———. "Muni Vairadeva of the Son-Bhaṇḍār Jaina Cave — Rājgir," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXXIX, 4 (1953), 410–412.

Sharma, B. N. "Indian Bronzes," *Journal of Indian History*, Golden Jubilee Volume (1973), 311–326.

———. "Revanta in Literature, Art, and Epigraphs," *East and West*, New Series, XXIII, 1–2 (March–June, 1973), 155–168.

———. "Unpublished Pala and Sena Sculptures in the National Museum, New Delhi," *East and West*, New Series, XIX, 3–4 (September–December, 1969), 413–423.

Sharma, G. R. "Chandra of Mehrauli Pillar Inscription," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXI, 3 (1945), 202–212.

———. "Excavations at Kauśāmbī," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, XVI (1958), xxxvi–xlv.

Shere, S. A. "A Note on the Bodh-Gaya Plaque," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Special Issue (1956), 285–286.

Sherwill, W. S. "Geological Notes on Zillah Shahabad, or Arrah," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XVI, 1 (January–June, 1847), 279–285.

———. "A Short Notice of an Ancient Colossal Figure Carved in Granite on the Mandár Hill in the District of Bhágalpúr," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XX, 3(1851), 272–275.

Shetti, B. V. "Terracotta Plaques from Pāhārpur," *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, 7 (1959–1962), 55–57.

Siddhanta, S. "The Jagdishpur Copper Plate Grant of the Gupta Year 128 (A.D. 447–48)," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, I, 1 (1972), 23–37.

———. "Some Recently Acquired Sculptures in the Varendra Research Museum," *Journal of the Varendra Research Museum*, III (1974), 103–112.

Singh, P. C. "A Rare Viṣṇu Image in His Kevala Narasiṁha Form Found in Bhagalpur District," *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, V, 3–4 (1963), 81–82.

Singh, R. C. Prasad. "Antichak, The Seat of Vikramaśīlā University," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVI (1960), 135–138.

Singh, Sarjug Prasad. "Numismatic Evidence of Kuṣāṇa-Muruṇḍa Rule in Eastern India," *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, X, 1–2 (1972), 19–32.

Sinha, Bindeshwari Prasad. "Representation of Rāmāyaṇic Scenes in an Old Temple Wall at Aphsad," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LIV (1968), 216–218.

———. "Sasanka," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*," XXXV, 3–4 (1949), 111–153.

Sinha, Chitta Ranjan Prasad. "Bihār-ki Prācīn Prastarkalā-meṅ Svāmī Kārttikeya," *Pariṣad Patrikā*, October, 1970), 20–24.

———. "The Kuṣāṇa Art of Bihar," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LIX (1973), 65–74.

———. "A Note on Pillar Inscriptions from Muṇḍeśvarī Temple," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LVII (1971), 87–88.

———. "Some Important Sculptural Acquisitions of the Patna Museum," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LIII (1967), 155–160.

———. "Varāha-Viṣṇu in Art and Epigraphy of Bihar," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LVI (1970), 54–60.

Sinha, Sunity Kumar. "Bhagalpur Through Centuries," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XLVII (1961), 188–200.

Sircar, Dinesh Chand. "Copper-Plate Grants from Bihar," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXV, 3 (July, 1963), 122–144.

———. "Copper-Plate Inscription of King Bhavadeva of Devaparvata," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, XVII, 2 (1951).

———. "Date of the Mankuwar Buddha Image Inscription of the Time of Kumaragupta I," *Journal of Ancient Indian History*, III (1969–1970), 133–137.

———. "Evidence of the Nālandā Seals," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XIX (1943), 272–281.

———. "Harṣa's Accession and the Harṣa Era," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (1951), 321–327.

———. "Inscriptions from Mandar Hill," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVI, 7 (July, 1966), 303–306.

———. "Kokāmukha-tīrtha," *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1945), 56–60.

———. "Post-Śaśāṅka Gold Coins from Eastern Bengal," *Journal of Ancient Indian History, IV* (1970–1971), 186–192.

———. "Religious Learnings of the Pala Kings of Eastern India," *Studies in Indian Epigraphy*, I (1974), 7–11.

———. "The Śākta Pīṭhas," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XIV, 1 (1948), 1–108.

———. "Some Inscriptions from Bihar," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 3–4 (1951), 1–13.

———. "Three Inscriptions from Valgudar," *Epigraphia Indica*, XXVIII, 3 (July, 1949), 137–144.

Sleusser, Mary S. "Nepali Sculptures — New Discoveries," in Pratapaditya Pal, ed., *Aspects of Indian Art* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1972), pp. 93–104.

———. "On the Antiquity of Nepalese Metalcraft," *Archives of Asian Art*, 29 (1975–1976), pp. 80–95.

———. "The Saugal-ṭol Temple of Patan," *Contributions to Nepalese Studies*, II, 1 (February, 1975), 39–42.

Sleusser, Mary S. and Vajracarya, Gautamavajra. "Some Nepalese Stone Sculptures: A Reappraisal Within Their Cultural and Historical Context," *Artibus Asiae*, XXXV, 1–2 (1973), 79–138.

Smith, Vincent Arthur. "The Bodhgaya Plaque," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, II, 3 (1916), 375–378.

———. "Kusinārā or Kuśinagara, and Other Buddhist Holy Places," *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, No Number (1902), 139–163.

Smith, Vincent Arthur and Hoey, William. "Ancient Buddhist Statuettes and a Candella Copper-plate from the Banda District," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXIV, 2 (1895), 155–162.

Sohoni, S. V. "Coinage of Śaśāṅka," *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, VI, 2 (1967–1968), 46–52.

———. "Finds at Sultanganj (Bhagalpur District, Bihar State)," *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, I, 1–2 (1960), 86–87.

———. "Significance of Nalanda Seals," *Indian Numismatic Chronicle*, IV, 2 (1965–1966), 135–148.

Spooner, D. B. "The Bodhgaya Plaque," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, I, 1 (1915), 1–4.

———. "Reply to Mr. Vincent Smith's Note," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, II, 3 (1916), 378–383.

Srivastava, V. N. "Copper Land Grant of King Śūrapāla from Mirzapur," *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, 5–6 (June–December, 1970), 67–70.

Stapleton, H. E. "Recent Advances in Knowledge of the Early and Medieval History of Bengal," *Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology*, VIII (1933), 13–17.

Stein, Marc Aurel. "Notes on an Archaeological Tour in South Bihar and Hazaribagh," *The Indian Antiquary*, XXX (1901), 54–63, 81–97.

Thakur, Upendra. "A Survey of Buddhism and Traces of Buddhist Remains in Mithila," *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, Special Issue, 2 (1956), 428–442.

Upadhyay, Basudeva. "Prayāga — The Capital of the Guptas," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, LVII (1971), 11–20.

Verman, Bhagwati Sharan. "A Unique Image of Sūrya," *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XL (1954), 343–346.

Vidyabhusana, Satischandra. "Bikramasilá Biswalvidyálaya," *Bharati* (Vaisakha, 1315).

Waddell, L. A. "Discovery of Buddhist Remains at Mount Uren in Mungir (Monghyr) District, and Identification of the Site with a Celebrated Hermitage of Buddha," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, LXI, 1 (1892), 1–24.

Weiner, Sheila L. "From Gupta to Pāla Sculpture," *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 2–3 (1962), 167–182.

Westmacott, E. V. "On Traces of Buddhism in Dinajpur and Bagura (Bogra)," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, XLIV, 1 (1875), 187–192.

Williams, Joanna G. "Sārnāth Gupta Steles of the Buddha's Life," *Ars Orientalis*, X (1975), 171–192.

———. "The Sculpture of Mandasor," *Archives of Asian Art*, XXVI (1972–1973), 50–64.

Periodic Reports

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1902–1903 to 1935–1936.

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report of the Bengal Circle, 1900–1901 to 1904–1905.

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report of the Central Circle, 1920–1921.

Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report of the Eastern Circle, 1905–1906 to 1920–1921.

Indian Archaeology, A Review. Report of the Director General of Archaeology in India, 1953–1954 to present.

Report on Indian Epigraphy, 1947–1948 to present.

Varendra Research Society, Annual Report, 1925–1926 to 1940.

Unpublished Sources

Broadley, Alexander Meyrick. *Photographs of the Buddhistic Sculptures Discovered in Bihar (Zillah Patna) by A. M. Broadley, Esq, C.S.* Calcutta, 1872. Album in National Library, Calcutta.

Haque, Enamul. *The Iconography of the Hindu Sculpture of Bengal (Up to 1250 A.D.)*. Oxford, 1973. Thesis.

Huntington, Susan. *The Origin and Development of Stone and Bronze Sculpture in Bihar and Bengal, ca. 8th–12th Centuries*. Los Angeles, 1972. Thesis.

Rashid, Harunur. *The Early History of South-East Bengal in the Light of Recent Archaeological Material*. Cambridge, 1968. Thesis.

INDEX

Index

Ādityasena: patronage of religious centers, 36; restoration of Magadha, 36; patronage at Aphsaḍ, 53–54, 67; patronage at Mandāra Hill, 55–56; reputed Choḷa origins, 56
Agradīgun, Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu, 97, 117 *n 228*, Plate 237
Ahicchatrā, terracotta panels, 18, 92
Aihole, temples at, 9
Ajaṇṭā: sculpture style, 8, 44, 49; Cave XIX, 120 *n 94*
Ājīvikas, sanctuaries in Barābar Hills, 15, 52
Ālampur, temples at, 10
Allāhābād District, doorway moulding, 40
Amāṅwā, Indrāṇī image, 41, 44–45, 66, 78, Plate 64
Andhradeśa: stūpas in, 63–64; contact with Samataṭa, 64
Antichak. *See* Vikramaśīla
Aphsaḍ, 52–54: sculptures at 8, 51, 62, 66, 67, 78; precedents for art, 19, 53; Cakrapuruṣa, 25, 26, 48, 54, Plate 89; stucco reliefs, 31, 46, 53, Plates 83–86; inscription of Ādityasena, 44; seventh-century Viṣṇu image, 52, 54, 56, 67, 77, 78, 87, 90, Plate 88; Varāha image, 53, Plate 87; patronage from Ādityasena, 53–54, 67; seventh-century Sūrya image, 54, 88, Plate 90; eighth-century Viṣṇu image, 54, 72, 87, 88, Plate 195; eighth-century Sūrya image, 77, 88, 90, Plate 194
Apsidal shrines, use for Nāga temples, 25
Artists: movement, 5, 9, 10, 19, 73, 74, 82, 90, 100–101; movement from Mathurā, 11, 19; decentralization, 16, 19, 32; eastward movement from Sārnāth, 26; indigenous at Bodhgayā, 28; movement from Magadha to Bengal, 37; movement from Vārāṇasī to Shāhābād District, 42; movement to Nālandā, 47, 87; movement from Rājgir to Nālandā, 51; at Nālandā, 52; at Rājgir, 52; bronze casters, 58, 59, 97; work in several media, 63, 99; travel in confined areas, 66; at Deo Baruṇārk, 73; workshop synonymous with family, 78; individual style, 84, 93; movement from Nālandā, 85; of secondary figures, 110 *n 84*; *see also* workshops of artists
Ashrafpur, bronze stūpa, 64–65
Aṣṭamahā-Bodhisattva Maṇḍala, 64

Bādāmi: temples, 9; Cave III, 27; cave temple sculptures, 49
Baghaura, Viṣṇu of Mahīpāla's time, 101
Baigrām, Govindasvāmin temple, 15
Bakraur: images, 75; Mataṅgavapī temple, 78; Viṣṇu image 79, 80, 86, Plate 152
Balarāma, image of Rājyapāla's time, 120 *n 107*
Bandarbazar. *See* Sylhet
Bāṅgaṛh, terracotta sculptures, 34
Baṅkura District, Pārśvanātha image, 52
Barābar Hills: inscriptions, 15; sanctuaries for Ājīvikas, 15, 52; prototype of Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, 22, 23; patronage, 29
Barākar, Temple IV, 93–94, Plates 225–227
Barauni, Sūrya image, 121 *n 140*
Bargaon, sculptures, 87
Barisal, Śiva-Lokeśvara image, 49, 95, 96, 98, 99–100, Plate 252
Bāsu Vihāra (Bhāsu Vihāra). *See* Mahāsthāngaṛh
Begampur: Brahmanical images, 49; Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu, 61, 87, Plate 189
Bengal: paucity of stone sculpture, 32, 62; terracotta use, 34, 63; Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images, 61, 87, Plates 107, 237; Sūrya images, 89, Plates 105, 106; Orissan affinities of temples, 90; monastery plan, 98; precedents of terracotta panels, 117 *n 238*
Benisāgar: sculpture, 59–60; Viṣṇu images, 59–60, Plates 101, 102; male deity, 60, Plate 103
Beśnagar: Mātṛkā images, 41; Garuḍa-dhvaja of Heliodoros, 54–55
Bhāgalpur. *See* Champā
Bhārhut, stūpa railing, 10
Bhavadeva, patronage, 99
Bhumārā: Śiva temple, 27, 49; Kārttikeya image, 41; Sūrya image, 41
Bhuvaneśvara: Paraśurāmeśvara temple, 9, 38, 49, 65, 93, 94; temples at, 10; center of Orissan art, 60; Vaital Deul, 90; Rājarāṇī temple sculptures, 121 *n 155*
Bihārail: Buddha image, 21, 31–32, Plate 36, monastery, 112 *n 170*
Bimbasāra, 4
Biṭpalo, 4
Bodhgayā, 27–29, 42–44, 75–77: Buddha image of year *64*, 7, 17, 19–20, 44, 70, 76, 102, 107 *n 28*, Plate 11; role of monks, 8; Mathurā image 10; temple railing, 10, 17, 27, 45, Plates 21, 22; Fa Hsian's description, 14; Influence from Mathurā, 19, 28, 43, 66, 75, 100; patronage, 22, 28–29, 75; *pañcāyatana liṅga*, 25, 79; Mahābodhi temple, 27, 28, 43, 46, 63, 75; *vajrāsana* slab, 27; stucco sculptures, 27; Śiva image, 27; standing Buddha image (Mahant's collection) 28, Plate 24; indigenous artists, 28; Dhaṁṣṭrasena image inscription, 28; Dharmagupta image inscription, 28; Mahānāman inscriptions, 28, 43; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37, 76–77; destruction of Bodhi Tree, 43; restoration of Bodhi Tree, 43; Buddha protected by Mucilinda (Indian Museum), 43, Plates 60, 61; Buddha protected by Mucilinda (Mahant's collection), 43, 44, 51, 78, Plate 62; Buddha image dedicated by Malluka, 44, 67, 76, 85, Plate 63; oval-plan pedestals, 44; stūpa on rear of images at, 44;

seated Buddha image (Naradah Museum), 51, 75–76, 77, Plate 137; cakra personification, 55, 79, 97, Plates 153, 154; standing Buddha image (eighth century), 58, 76, 77, 81, 95, Plate 141; stone sculpture, 62; *toraṇa*, 62, 72, 75, Plates 134, 135; sculpture of Dharmapāla's time, 70, 75, 79; temple doorway, 71, Plate 119; Brahmanical art, 75; seated Buddha images (eighth century), 75–76; seated Buddha image (Mahābodhi temple), 76, 92, Plate 136; seated Buddha image (Victoria and Albert Museum), 76, Plate 138; *pralambapadāsana* Buddha images, 76, Plates 139, 140; impact of Nālandā style, 76; Padmapāṇi image, 76, Plate 142; scarcity of Bodhisattva images, 76; Ceylonese presence, 76; Sthavira School, 77; Viṣṇu image, 77, 78, 79, 80, Plate 155; Lokanātha image, 78, Plate 147; Sūrya image, 79, Plate 156; Śrī Vāgdevī Vajraśīla temple, 79; four-faced Mahādeva, 79; inscription of Dharmapāla, 79; bronze-casting workshop, 79; Buddha images, 83; arrival of new artists, 101; account by Wang Hsuen-ts'e, 111, *n 136*

Bogra District, bronze Viṣṇu image, 95, Plate 231; *see also* Mahāsthāngaṛh

Borobuḍur, 81

Brahmanical deities, in Buddhist *maṇḍalas*, 84

Brick, 38, 66

Bronze sculpture: widespread manufacture, 18; date of images in hoards, 18; Pāla-period, 57; Buddha image (New York collection), 59, Plate 99; Buddha image (Norton Simon collection), 59, Plate 100; increasing rate of production, 59, 100; facilitates transmission of ideas, 76; findspot, 83; impact on stone sculpture, 89; Balarāma of Rājyapāla's time, 120 *n 107*

Burdwān District, Hari-Hara image, 98, Plate 243

Buxār, 18: terracotta sculpture, 10, 17; temple doorway, 71, 74, 75, Plates 117, 118

Chaḍpādā, stucco head, 34, 112 *n 192*, Plate 40

Chaitānpur, Viṣṇu image, 21, 60–61, 62, Plate 104

Champā: description by Fa Hsian, 14, 58; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37, 58; route followed by Hsuan Tsang, 56; association with Jainism, 89

Champāpur: seated Ṛṣabhanātha image, 86, 89, Plate 201; standing Ṛṣabhanātha image, 89, Plate 200; Digambara Jaina temple, 89

Chandimau, 111 *n 148*

Chandraketugaṛh: imported Mathurā image, 10; brick temple, 33–34; terracotta sculptures, 34

Chausā: bronze sculptures, 7, 11, 16, 17–18, 20, 22, 38, 59, 71, 102; bronze *dharmacakra*, 17; bronze *kalpavṛkṣa*, 17; terracotta plaque, 17; Ṛṣabhanātha image, 18, Plate 6; standing Tīrthaṅkara image, 18, Plate 7; Mathurā influence on images, 74

Chunār Sandstone, 10, 29

Comilla District, bronze Sitātapatrā image, 99

Dah Parbatiyā: temple doorway, 65–66, Plates 115, 116; relation to Sārnāth style, 66; possible patronage of Bhāskaravarman, 67

Dāmodarpur, religious endowments, 16

Dāpthū: Revanta image, 45; Viṣṇu image, 72, 86, 87, 88, 95, Plate 190; Gadādevī, 86, 87, Plate 191; temples 119 *n 22*

Deccan: pralambapadāsana Buddha images, 76; Buddhist sculptures, 115 *n 120*

Deo Baruṇārk, 72–73, 100, 103: pillars, 29, 62, 72, 75, Plate 124; Jīvitagupta inscription, 36, 69, 72; sculptures, 71, 74; route, 72; *dhvajastambha*, 72, 79, Plates 126, 127; role of Jīvitagupta, 72–73, 102; Magadhan affiliation of sculpture, 73; Garuḍāsana image, 73; Sūrya images, 73, Plates 127–129; Sūrya temple, 73; Śaiva images, 73, 89, Plates 130, 131; travel of artists, 73

Deogaṛh temple, 30, 38, 40, 71: Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī relief, 30, 41; sculpture style, 46, 61; pillar, 72; Gajendra Mokṣa panel, 93

Deoghar: Ādityasena inscription, 56; Vaidyanātha temple, 113 *n 20*

Deo Markaṇḍeya, 73–74, 100: sculptures, 71; route, 72; *liṅgas*, 73; Brahmā images, 73; temples, 73; Sūrya images, 73; Vaiṣṇava images, 73, 74, Plates 132, 133; black schist for sculpture, 74; source of artists, 74

Deopāṇi, sculptures, 66

Deorā, Sūrya image, 61, 62, 65, 68, Plate 106

Deulbāḍī: bronze Sarvāṇī image, 8, 49, 54, 61, 64–65, 67, 70, 95, 100, Plate 113; bronze liṅgas, 64; bronze Sūrya image, 64–65, Plate 114; Khaḍga patronage, 67

Devangaṛh, 66: Ekānaṁśā Trio, 11, 17, 18, 20, 52, Plates 8, 9, 10; on Champā-Gayā route, 18; Vāsudeva, 21

Devapāla dated images. *See* Kurkihār, Nālandā

Dhanesar Khera, bronze images, 59

Dharmapāla: artistic production during reign, 9; influence on art, 70; patronage, 80, 91, 99, 100

Dharmāraṇya, 75: sculptures, 43, 78; Umā-Maheśvara image, 44, 78, 89, 98, Plate 148; polish of stone sculptures, 44; Viṣṇu image, 46, 54, 78, 79, 80, 86, 96, 98, Plate 149; serpent canopy of Viṣṇu image, 78; Viṣṇu worshipped as Rāmacandra, 78, Plate 150

Dhīmān, 4

Dhyāni Buddhas, 46–47, 84, 91, 120 *n 105*

Dinājpur District: sculptured head, 11, 122 *n 190*; sculptures 96–97

Divisions: dynastic, 6–7, 102, 103; stylistic, 6, 21–22

Ekdala, Viṣṇu image, 96, 98

Ellorā, Kailāsanātha temple, 9

Enda, cakra personification, 55, 97, Plate 238

Eran: dhvajastambha, 33; cakra personification, 33, 54; Varāha image, 53

Gadāpurṣua, with Bengali Viṣṇu images, 96

Gai Ghāṭ. *See* Vārāṇasī

Gaṅgārāmpur, Mahiṣamarddinī image, 97, Plate 240

Gaṅgā Valley: Caturmukha liṅga, 90, Plate 204; Kārttikeya image, 90, Plate 203; Śiva head, 90, Plate 205; Sūrya image, 90, Plate 202

Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images, 59; iconography, 45; in Cleveland Museum, 56, 60, 61–62, Plate 107; *see also* Viṣṇu

Gayā, 79–80: description by Fa Hsian, 14, 80; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37, 80; absence of Gupta art, 44; Brahmanical images, 44, 77, 78–80, 100; as pilgrimage center, 78; Balarāma image (from Maṅgla Ghorī temple), 78, Plate 151; image style, 79; Viṣṇu image (from Viṣṇupada temple), 80, 96, 120 *n 66*, Plate 157; Viṣṇu image (from Kṛṣṇa-Dvārka temple), 80, Plate 158; Brahmāṇī Ghāṭ images, 80; Sītā Kuṇḍ images, 80; Sūrāj Kuṇḍ images, 80

Gayā District: Mañjuśrī image, 77, 82, Plate 145; standing Buddha image, 77, Plate 146

Gazole, Viṣṇu image, 96, 97, Plate 236

Ghosrāwāṅ, images, 121 *n 146*

Giriyek, Indraśila Guha, 55

Gītagram, sculptures, 34

Gop temple, 38

Gorakhpur District, gray schist images, 74, 119 *n 36*

Gunaighar: Vihāra of Avalokiteśvara, 16, 63; Pradyumneśvara temple, 16

Gwalior, Teli-kā Mandir, 71

Gyāraspur, doorway, 40

Hajipur, Kuṣāṇa railing, 107 *n 29*

Haluapara, Viṣṇu image, 21, 33

Hāṅkrail, Viṣṇu image, 11, 17, 21, 32, 60, 97, Plate 12

Harekṛṣṇapur, Sarvāṇī image, 65

Hsuan Tsang, route, 52, 55, 98

Jagdishpur (Rājshāhi District), temples, 15

Jagdiśpur (Patna District), Buddha image, 83

Jahāngīra Rock. *See* Sultānganj

Jalabandha, Viṣṇu torso, 61, 98, Plate 242

Java, bronze images 85

Index

Jhewāri, bronze sculptures, 65, 91, 100
Jīvitagupta II, patronage at Deo Baruṇārk, 36, 72–73

Kākadīghi. *See* Ekdala
Kālyānpur, *pañcāyatana liṅga*, 25
Kāman, pañcāyatana liṅga, 25
Kanauj, sculpture style, 98
Kāñchī, temples at, 10
Karaicharchar, Viṣṇu image, 96, Plate 235
Karṇasuvarṇa: status in Gupta age, 34; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37
Kāśipur, Sūrya image, 61, 62, 65, 67, 68, 93, Plate 105
Kathmandu, Trivikrama relief at Mṛgasthali, 30
Kauśāmbī: description by Fa Hsian, 14; early Gupta art, 16; absence of bronze sculpture, 59; pillar, 62, 72
Khaḍga Dynasty, patronage, 67
Khiarmahmūdpur, Viṣṇu image, 96, 97, Plate 234
Khiching: sculpture, 59–60, 90, 91; temples, 60
Khulna District, Viṣṇu image, 98, Plate 244
Koṅch: sixth-century Viṣṇu image, 32, 45, 46, 52, 54, 59, 66, 67, 75, 78, Plate 65; eighth-century Viṣṇu image, 73, 77, 80, Plate 159; Ekamukha Liṅga, 80, Plate 160; Koncheśvara temple, 80
Koṭilā Murā. *See* Maināmatī
Kumārpur: Sūrya image, 11, 21, 61, 97, Plate 13; bronze Viṣṇu image, 95, 96, 97, Plate 239
Kumrahar: image from Mathurā, 10; Śuṅga railing, 10; Kuṣāṇa railing, 11; Vṛkṣadevatā, 11, Plate 1; male head, 11; Bodhisattva torso, 11, Plate 2; Buddha head, 29, Plate 25; Ārogya Vihāra, 29, 111 *n 146*
Kurkihār, 77, 80: bronze Balarāma of Devapāla's reign, 76, 77, 78, 84, 86, 93, 95, Plate 178; bronze Padmapāṇi, 76; bronze images, 77, 84–85; bronze Buddha image, 77, 85, Plate 143; bronze casting workshop, 79; Kukkuṭa-pāda-giri Vihāra, 119 *n 51*
Kuśinagar, Buddha image, 119 *n 36*
Kusumā temple, 38, 40

Lakhi Sarai, area described by Hsuan Tsang, 88
Lakṣmaṇkāṭi, Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu, 117 *n 228*
Lakṣmīpur, Mahiṣamarddinī image, 97

Magadha style, 51, 86, 87
Mahānāman, inscriptions at Bodhgayā, 28
Mahāsthāngaṛh: terracotta sculpture, 10, 33, 34, 112 *n 201*; Kārttikeya image, 11, 16, 33, 62, Plate 3; terracotta Sūrya image, 34, 95, Plate 41; gilded bronze Bodhisattva image, 61, 93, 94, Plate 228; paucity of stone sculpture, 62, 96; Hsuan Tsang's account, 62; stone pillars, 62, Plates 108, 109; bronze images, 83; early Pāla art, 91, 94; Buddhist bronzes of Bāsu Vihāra, 94, 95; bronze Sūrya image, 94, 95; bronze Bodhisattva, 94, Plate 229; bronze Viṣṇu images, 94, 95, 97, Plates 230, 231; stone Buddha from Bāsu Vihāra, 95, Plate 232
Mahrāwāṅ, 78: cakra personification, 54–55, 79, 87, 97, Plates 93, 94; Viṣṇu image, 54, 86, 87, 90, 96, 98, Plate 192; sculptures, 66; Viṣṇu bust, 88, 90, Plate 193; Sūrya image, 121
Maināmatī, 33, 37, 63–65, 66, 98–99: bronze images, 9, 63, 65, 83, 99, 100; Buddhist establishments, 36; Ananda Vihāra, 63; Koṭilā Murā (Tri-Ratna Vihāra), 63–64, Plate 110; influence from Andhradeśa, 63–64; Salban Vihāra (Bhavadeva Mahāvihāra), 63, 70, 91, 98, 99, Plate 245; patronage, 63, 70, 98; stone plaques from Koṭilā Murā, 64, 65, 99, Plates 111, 112; precedent for Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla, 98; terracotta panels of Salban Vihāra, 99, 101, Plate 246; unusual iconography of images, 99; bronze Padmapāṇi image, 99, Plate 248; bronze Mañjuśrī images, 99, 100, Plates 247, 249
Mallasārul, copperplate of Vijayasena, 32
Māmallapuram, 9
Maṇḍalas, Buddhist, inclusion of Hindu deities, 93
Mandāra Hill, 55–56: Narasiṁha Cave, 55–56; inscription of Viṣṇudatta, 55, 56; tanks, 55; "Madhu" image, 55; patronage of Ādityasena, 55–56; inscription from Deoghar, 56; Varāha image, 56, Narasiṁha image, 56
Mandasor, sculptures, 43, 45
Mandhuk, Gaṇeśa image, time of Gopāla II, 101
Maṇḍor, Kṛṣṇa Govardhana relief, 31
Manirhāt, bronze Śiva, 96
Maṇiyār Maṭh. *See* Rājgir
Mankuwār, Buddha image, 28
Marūī, cakra personification, 54–55, 66, 79, 87, 97, Plates 91, 92
Masāṛh: description by Hsuan Tsang, 42, 71; Viṣṇu image, 71, 74, Plate 120; possible Śiva temple, 72; dhvajastambha, 72, 79, Plates 121, 122
Mathurā: export of sculptures, 6, 10; migration of artists from, 11; Bodhisattva from Ganeśra, 11; Devatās from Bhuteśar, 11; Nāga from Chārgaon, 11; source of Mahāsthāngaṛh Kārttikeya, 11; dominant role in Kuṣāṇa art, 12; description by Fa Hsian, 14; diminished artistic production, 16; early Gupta art, 16, 19; late Kuṣāṇa Jaina images, 17, 18; influence of Kuṣāṇa images, 18; Kuṣāṇa bronzes (from Soṅkh), 18, 59; influence on Bodhgayā imagery, 19, 28, 43, 44, 66, 75; Kaṭra Buddha, 20; Gupta Tīrthaṅkara, 20, 22, 23; decreasing influence, 21; Kuṣāṇa Viṣṇu images, 21; Nāga temple at Soṅkh, 25; Kārttikeya images, 41; dearth of bronze sculptures, 59; absence of pralambapadāsana Buddha images, 76
Miracle of Śrāvastī: in Maināmatī plaque, 64; in Pāla art, 64; in Sārnāth plaques, 64
Monks, transmission of iconography, 8
Mukhaliṅgam: temples, 10; sculptures, 90
Muṇḍeśvarī, 66, 67, 71: Śiva temple, 8, 38–42, 62, 65, 103, Plates 42–49; Kārttikeya images, 26, 42, 49, 54, Plates 51, 58; liṅga, 39, Plate 50; absence of Vaiṣṇava imagery, 40; dvārapālas, 40, Plates 47, 48; inscription, 40; Mahiṣamarddinī, 40; Nandī, 40; Agni images, 41, Plate 53; Gaṇeśa images 41, Plate 54; Hari-Hara image, 41, Plate 52; Kubera image, 41; Mātṛkā images, 41–42, 44, Plates 55, 56; Sūrya images, 41, 42, 73, Plates 49, 57; Pārvatī image, 42, 72, Plate 59; use of buff stone, 42; influence from Vārāṇasī, 42, 44; sculptures, 67, 74; dhvajastambha, 72, Plate 123

Nāchnā temple, 9, 30, 38
Nāgārjuna, 83
Nāgārjunakoṇḍa, stūpa casing plaques, 64
Nāgārjunī Hills. *See* Barābar Hills
Nālandā, 21, 26–27, 46–50, 80–86, 88: description by Hsuan Tsang, 3; patronage, 3, 4, 26, 37, 46, 50, 66, 67, 70, 91; architectural development, 9; Buddhist style, 20; monasteries of Site No. 1, brick, 23; liṅga worshipped by Nāgas, 25; establishment of monastery, 26; reference by Fa Hsian, 26; identified with Śāriputra's birth and death place, 26; seals, 26–27; stūpa of Site No. 3 and stucco images, 26, 27, 34, 41, 43, 44, 46–48, 53, 57, 58, 61, 64, 67, 75, 83, Plate 67; temple of Site No. 12, 46; temple plinth of Site No. 2, 46, 48–49, 51, 67, 83, 92, Plates 72–75; stucco standing Buddha, Site No. 3, 47, Plate 68; stucco seated Buddha, Site No. 3, 47–48, 57, 76, Plate 69; precedents for Pāhārpur and Vikramaśīla, 47, 92, 67; influence from Sārnāth, 47–48, 51, 66, 80, 82, 100; stucco Mañjuśrī image, Site No. 3, 48, 54, 82, 94, Plate 71; stucco Avalokiteśvara image, Site No. 3, 48, 80, 83, 94, Plate 70; Gandharva relief of Site No. 1, 49, Plates 76, 77; Sarasvatī image (also called Mahāsarasvatī, Koṭiśrī, Vajraśāradā), 49, 82, 83, Plate 167; agrahāra, 50; possible damage, 50; artists, 52, 58, 80, 81, 87, 101; bronze Balarāma image of Devapāla's reign, 61, 78, 83, 84, 93, 94, Plate 179; stone sculpture, 62; temples, 63, 71; architectural sculpture, 66; inscription of Mālāda, 69, 80; Lokanātha image, 74, 81, 94, 100, Plate 162; Padmapāṇi images, 76; impact on Bodhgayā style, 76; bronze images, 76, 77, 81–82, 83, 84, 86, 90; conformity with Magadha style, 77, 81; Mañjuśrī image, 77, 82, 94, Plate 164; Bodhisattva images, 78; stūpa of Dharmapāla's reign, 80; Lokanātha

image, 80–81, Plate 161; Avalokiteśvara image, 81–82, 92, Plate 163; Mañjuśrī image, 82, Plate 165; Mañjuśrī image, 82, 94, 100, Plate 166; Nāga image, 82–83, Plate 168; bronze Avalokiteśvara image, 82, 83, 86, 94, Plate 170; bronze Buddha image, 83, 86, 94, Plate 169; historical personages, images, 83; bronze stūpa, 84, Plate 175; bronze Lokanātha image, 84, Plate 173; stone Lokanātha image, 84; Plate 174; bronze Viṣṇu image, 84; bronze Pārvatī image, 84, Plate 176; Brahmanical images, 84, 87, 100; flag-bearing Bodhisattva, 84, 90, Plate 172; bronze Mañjuśrī image, 84, 90, 94, Plate 171; diffusion of art style, 85; female head, 86; bronze Tārā image, 86; clay sculptures, 92; monastery plan, 98; iconography of images, 99; coins of Śaśāṅka, 113 *n 14*; numbering of sites, 115 *n 111*; demise, 116 *n 147*; *See also* Begampur
Namunja, Gaja-Lakṣmī image, 95, Plate 233
Nandangaṛh, stūpa, 91
Nārāyaṇpur, Gaṇeśa of Mahīpāla's time, 101
Naresar temples, 9, 71
Nārhaṭṭa, Viṣṇu image, 17, 21, 29, 32, 33, 45, 62, 93, Plate 37
Nāthnagar, Digambara Jaina temple, 89
Nawādā, absence of Buddhist monuments, 55
Nayatola. *See* Kumrahar
Nepal, bronze Buddha image, 59, 83
Niyāmatpur, Sūrya image, 11, 21, Plate 14
Nonagaṛh, Mathurā sculpture, 10, 29, 88

Odantāpura Vihāra, 122 *n 157*
Orel, liṅgas, 80
Osiāṅ, temples, 10

Pagan, Shwehsandaw stūpa, 93
Pachār Hill: Revanta image, 45–46, 78, Plate 66; Aparājitā image, 45, 77, Plate 144
Pāhārpur (Somapura Vihāra), 91–93, 97: Gupta inscription, 15, 92; terracotta panels, 34, 49, 67, 92, 99, Plates 216–219; stūpa, 47, 64, 89, 91, Plate 215; stylistic precedents, 47, 67, 92, 98; stone sculptures, 61, 92–93, Plates 220–224; patronage from Dharmapāla, 70, 80, 91, 100, 118 *n 10*; stone sculpture style, 92–93, 94; Brahmanical subject of sculptures, 92, 93, 100; source of sculptures, 93; import of artists, 102
Pāla Dynasty: regnal year in dating system, 70; influence on art, 100; Pāla style, 102
Pañcāyatana liṅga, 25
Pañcāyatana pūjā, 110 *n 98*
Panna, terracotta sculptures, 33, Plate 39
Pāṭaliputra, 74, 103: school of art, 4, 30, 66; description by Fa Hsian, 14; description by Hsuan Tsang, 36; reputed desecration by Śaśāṅka, 36; *see also* Patna
Pātharghāṭā, 29, 53, 88, 89: life of Kṛṣṇa reliefs, 7, 31, 66; Kṛṣṇa supporting Govardhana, 31, Plate 34; Kṛṣṇa wrestling Cāṇūra, 31, Plate 35; Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu, 31, 87, Plate 33
Paṭhāri, sculptures of Jayatsena's time, 17
Patna: Śuṅga railing, 10; early Gupta art, 16; Pārśvanātha image, 17, 18, 20, 22, Plates 4, 5; Viṣṇu image, 17, 29, Plate 26; Mahābīr Ghāṭ, 17, 109 *n 43*; use of buff sandstone, 29, 42; *see also* Pāṭaliputra
Patronage. *See* Ādityasena, Bhavadeva, Dharmapāla, Jīvitagupta II, Khaḍga Dynasty
Paṭṭadakal, temples, 10
Pāwāpuri, 89
Periodization. *See* Divisions
Prayāg: account by Fa Hsian, 14; *see also* Allāhābād
Puṇḍranagara. *See* Mahāsthāngaṛh
Puṇḍravardhana, description by Hsuan Tsang, 37

Qutb Mināṛ, 13

Rājaona, pillar reliefs, 29–30, 31, 53, 54, 62, 75, 88, 112 *n 156* Plates 27–29
Rājāsan, Śuṅga pillar, 10
Rājbāḍīdāṅgā, 34, 60, 62, 98; *see also* Raktamṛttikā Vihāra, Raktaviṭi Vihāra
Rājgir: effect of monks' travel, 8; Kuṣāṇa Maṇi Nāga relief, 10, 23–25, 28; description by Fa Hsian, 14; Jaina style, 20, 51, 86, 87; Gupta Neminātha image, 22, 23, 26, Plate 15; Maṇiyār Maṭh, 22, 23–26, 51, 86, Plate 17; Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, 22–23, 51, 52, Plate 16; stucco sculptures of Maṇiyār Maṭh, 23–26, 27, 30, 34, 41, 47, 52, 53, 63, 66, 87, Plates 18–20; inscription of Muni Vairadeva, 23; influence from Sārnāth, 25–26; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37, 52; Neminātha image of Ratnagiri, 51, Plate 80; seventh-century Neminātha of Vaibhāragiri, 51–52, Plate 81; artists, 52; Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu, 52, 61, 86, 87, Plate 82; Varāha image, 86, Plate 188; Śaiva center, 86; Vasantanandin inscription, 86; Umā-Maheśvara images, 86, 87, 89, Plates 185, 186; Ṛṣabhanātha image of Vaibhāragiri, 86, 89, Plate 182; eighth-century Neminātha images of Vaibhāragiri, 86, 98, Plates 183, 184; association with Jainism, 89
Rājgir-Nālandā region, seated Buddha image, 86, Plate 181
Rājim, Viṣṇu images, 45
Rājmahāl Schist, 5, 74, 96, 101, 107 *n 10*; use in Uttar Pradesh, 74
Rākṣasīdāṅgā, terracotta sculptures, 34
Raktamṛttikā Vihāra, 60, 62, 112 *n 190*; *see also* Rājbāḍīdāṅgā
Raktaviṭi Vihāra, 37; *see also* Rājbāḍīdāṅgā
Rāṅgāmāṭi, 34, 112 *n 190*
Raṅgpur District, Viṣṇu image, 96
Roḍā, temples, 10, 119 *n 22*
Rohoi, Kubera image, 86, Plate 187
Rohtasgaṛh, seal matrix of Śaśāṅka, 42
Routes: to Rājgir, 26; Tāmralipta to Gayā, 31; change in Magadha, 46; followed by Fa Hsian, 46; followed by Hsuan Tsang, 46, 52, 55, 71; in Shāhābād District, 72; avoiding Pāṭaliputra, 87; juncture with Gaṅgā, 88; Magadha to Bengal, 89; through Hazaribagh Hills, 94; documented by art historical evidence, 96; to Tāmralipta, 96, 98; newly developed, 101; from Vārāṇasī eastward, 103; to Prayāg, 109 *n 64*

Sahebganj, sculptures, 122 *n 201*
Sakrigali, doorway moulding, 97–98, Plate 241
Sālār, cakra personification, 21, 32–33, 54, 55, 79, 97, 98, Plate 38
Salban Vihāra. *See* Maināmatī
Samataṭa: historical stability, 36; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37; Khaḍga-period images, 60; unique character of culture, 65, Hsuan Tsang's route to, 98; unusual iconography of images, 99, 103
Śāmlājī, monuments, 9
Sāñci, stūpa gateways, 10
Saraikela: Mātṛkā images, 41, 44, 60, 90, 91, 95, Plates 206–208
Sārnāth, 74: influence on Eastern Indian art, 8, 9, 25–26, 44, 47–48, 51, 58, 66, 80, 82, 86, 87, 100; account by Fa Hsian, 14; Gupta sculpture, 28, 32, 41, 43, 47, 57; export of images, 32; source of Bihārail Buddha, 32; Gupta Avalokiteśvara image, 41, 94; panel from Main Shrine, 50; absence of bronze sculpture, 59; Life of the Buddha plaques, 64; Miracle of Śrāvastī plaques, 64; stūpas, 64, 91; Aśokan pillar, 72; Bodhisattva images, 76; pralambapadāsana Buddha images, 76; inscriptions, 111 *n 143*
Sasarām, Aśokan inscription, 72
Shāhābād District: buff sandstone, 29; influence from Sārnāth, 38; absence of Buddhist remains, 42, 71, 74, 100, 103; influence from Vārāṇasī, 71, 102; cultural integration, 74
Shāhkuṇḍ: Narasiṁha image, 29, 30–31, 32, 60, 79, Plate 32; Gupta sculpture, 30–31, 66, 88, 89; Ekamukha Liṅga, 31
Shāhpur, Sūrya image, 40, 50, 67
Shibbati, Life of the Buddha relief, 114 *n 92*

Index

Siharatha, donor of Bodhgayā image, 19
Sikri Sandstone, 10, 20
Sirpur: Lakṣmaṇa temple, 9, 38; Viṣṇu images, 45; brick temples, 71; bronze images, 85
Somapura. *See* Pāhārpur
Sonārang, bronze Chaṇḍī image, 123 *n 218*
Soṅkh. *See* Mathurā
Sthavira school, 77
Stucco: and spread of Mahāyāna Buddhism, 53; durability, 63
Sultānganj, 14, 29: bronze Buddha image, 3, 9, 56–58, 59, 61, 66, 76, Plates 96, 97; Jahāngīra Rock, 30, 31, 45, 54, 60, 66, 88, 89, 95; Varāha on Jahāngīra Rock, 30, Plate 31; Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī on Jahāngīra Rock, 30, 31, 60, Plate 30; Revanta on Jahāngīra Rock, 45; Viṣṇu images on Jahāngīra Rock, 54, 87, 88, 89, 95, Plates 196, 197; monastery, 56–58; stucco head, 57; stone Buddha head, 58, Plate 98; Buddhist images, 88; Sūrya on Jahāngīira Rock, 89, Plate 198; Umā-Maheśvara on Jahāngīra Rock, 89, Plate 199
Śūrapāla, Buddha images from reign of, 58
Sylhet, Lokanātha image, 100, plate 253

Tāmralipta, 96: Śuṅga terracotta, 10; description by Fa Hsian, 14; routes to, 31, 96, 98; description by Hsuan Tsang, 37
Tāranātha: on art, 4
Taxila: description by Fa Hsian, 14; Viṣṇu image, 32; cruciform stūpa, 91
Telhāra, Buddha image, 51, 58, Plate 79
Terracotta: use in Bengal, 33–34, 63, 92; shift from stucco, 63
Tetrāwāṅ, 89: seventh-century Buddha image, 44, 51, 58, 67, 75, 85, 86, 92, Plate 78; eighth-century Buddha image, 51, 83, 85, Plate 180; images, 121 *n 146*
Throneback, bolster on, 47
Tibet: Indian bronzes preserved, 58, 59

Udayagiri: relief sculptures, 17, 18, 19, 22, 53–54; Varāha relief, 18, 53–54; Viṣṇu images, 19; allegorical imagery, 31, 53–54

Vaiśālī: description by Hsuan Tsang, 36; lion column, 56; Kārttikeya image, 56, Plate 95; Gupta seals, 119 *n 66*
Valguḍar, image of Dharmapāla's time, 88
Vārāṇasī: Kṛṣṇa Govardhana image, 31; doorway śākhā, 40; influence on Shāhābād art, 41, 42, 44, 71, 74, 102; Kārttikeya from Gai Ghāṭ, 41, 48; route leading eastward, 72; use of gray schist, 74; Viṣṇu image, 119 *n 36*
Vidiśā, Tīrthaṅkaras of Rāmagupta's reign, 17, 19, 20, 22
Vikramaśīla, 31, 66, 91–93: stūpa, 47, 89, 91, 98; precedents at Nālandā, 47, 67, 92; terracotta panels, 49, 67, 92, 99; patronage from Dharmapāla, 70, 80, 88, 91, 100; clay image, 92; relation of terracotta panels to stone sculpture, 92; Brahmanical terracotta panels, 92; Buddha attended by Bodhisattvas, 92, Plate 211; terracotta Mañjuśrī panel, 92, Plate 212; terracotta Ardhanarīśvara panel, 92, Plate 213; terracotta Kinnara panel, 92, Plate 214; terracotta female dancer panel, 92, Plate 215; sculpture style, 94; precedent at Maināmatī, 98; import of artists, 102
Viṣṇu: Kuṣāṇa iconography, 18, 21; Gupta iconography, 21; order of attributes, 45, 52, 60; depiction of attributes, 96, 110 *n 79*; *see also* Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu images

Workshops of artists, 32; *see also* artists

PLATES

Plate 1. Double-Sided Vṛkṣadevatā. In Nayatola Village, Patna District. 41″ × 13″. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 2. Bodhisattva Torso. From Kumrahar, Patna District. 24″ × 13″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 3981. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 3. Kārttikeya. From Mahāsthāngaṛh. 22″ × 14½″. Asutosh Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

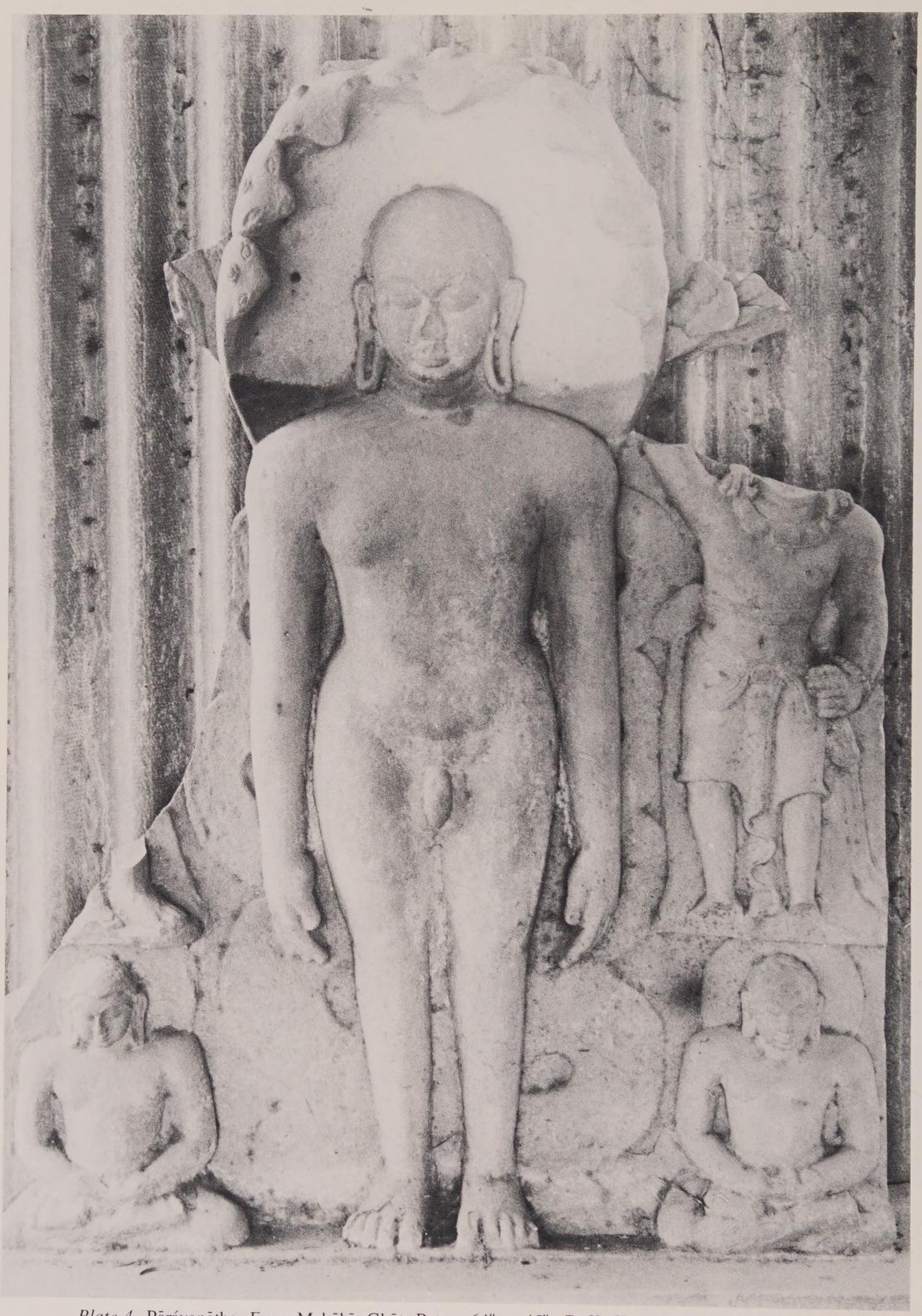


Plate 4. Pārśvanātha. From Mahābīr Ghāṭ, Patna. 64″ × 45″. G. K. Kanoria Collection, Patna.

Plate 5. Detail of Patna Pārśvanātha.

Plate 6. Bronze Ṛṣabhanātha. From Chausā, Shāhābād District. 8½″ × 3″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6539. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

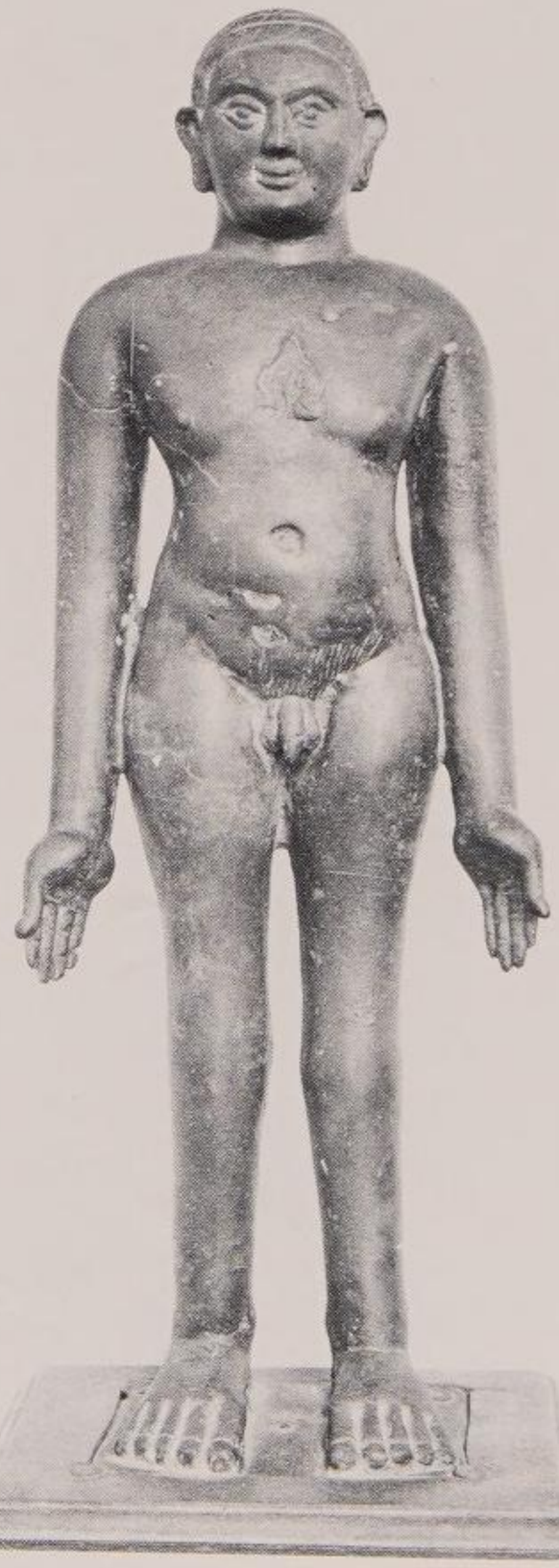


Plate 7. Bronze Tīrthaṅkara. From Chausā, Shāhābād District. 19″ × 7″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6530. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 8. Balarāma. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District. 54″ × 17″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 11300. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 9. Vāsudeva. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District. 52″ × 18½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 11277. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 10. Ekānamiśā. From Devangaṛh, Gayā District. 48″ × 17″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 11267. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

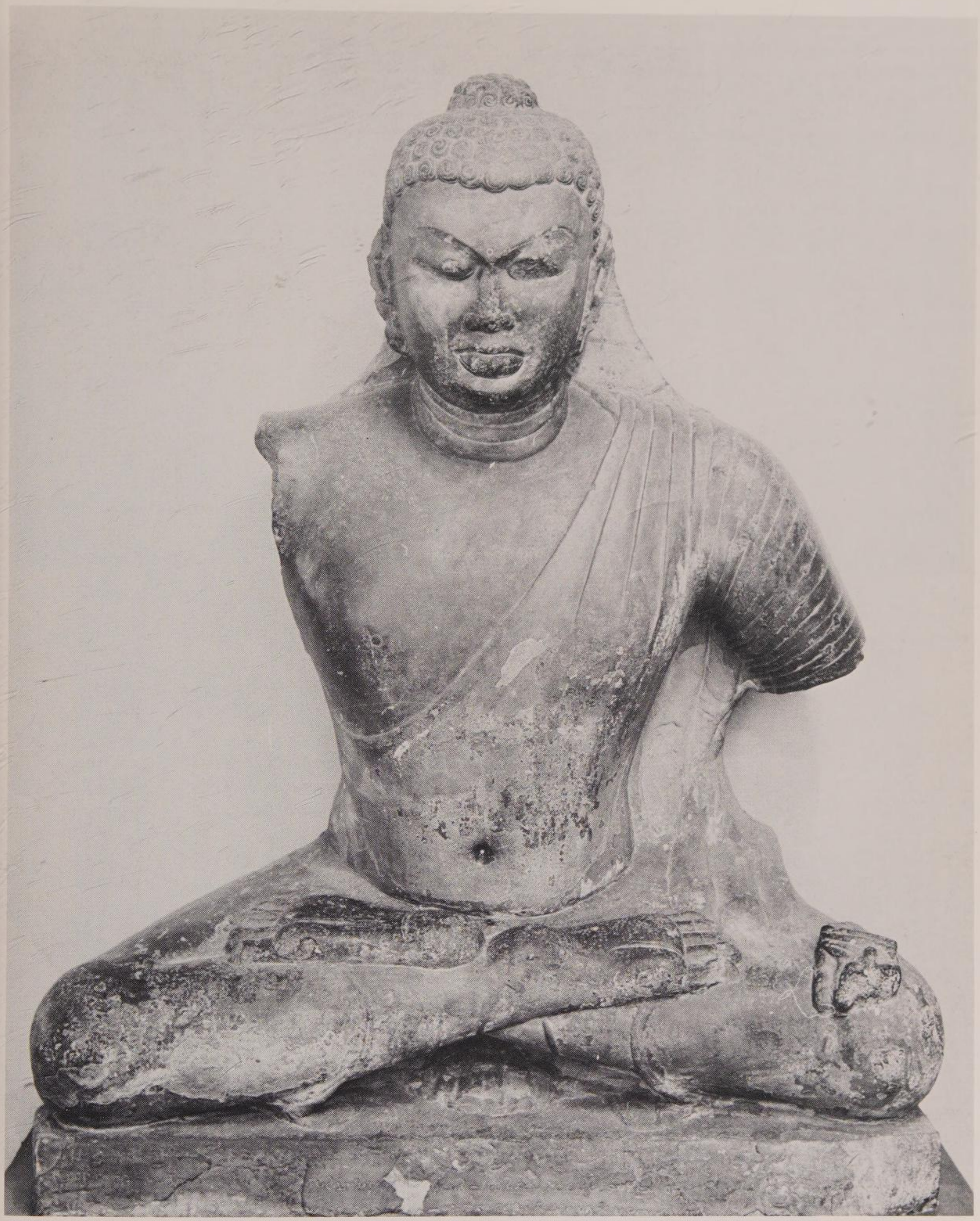


Plate 11. Buddha, Inscribed in Year 64. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 47″ × 37½″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25023.

Plate 12. Viṣṇu. From Hāṅkrail, Mālda District. 13″ × 8″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 644. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 13. Sūrya. From Kumārpur, Rājshāhi District. 17″ × 9½″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 21. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 14. Sūrya. From Niyāmatpur, Rājshāhi District. 11″ × 9″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 1530. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 15. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District. 39″ × 28½″.

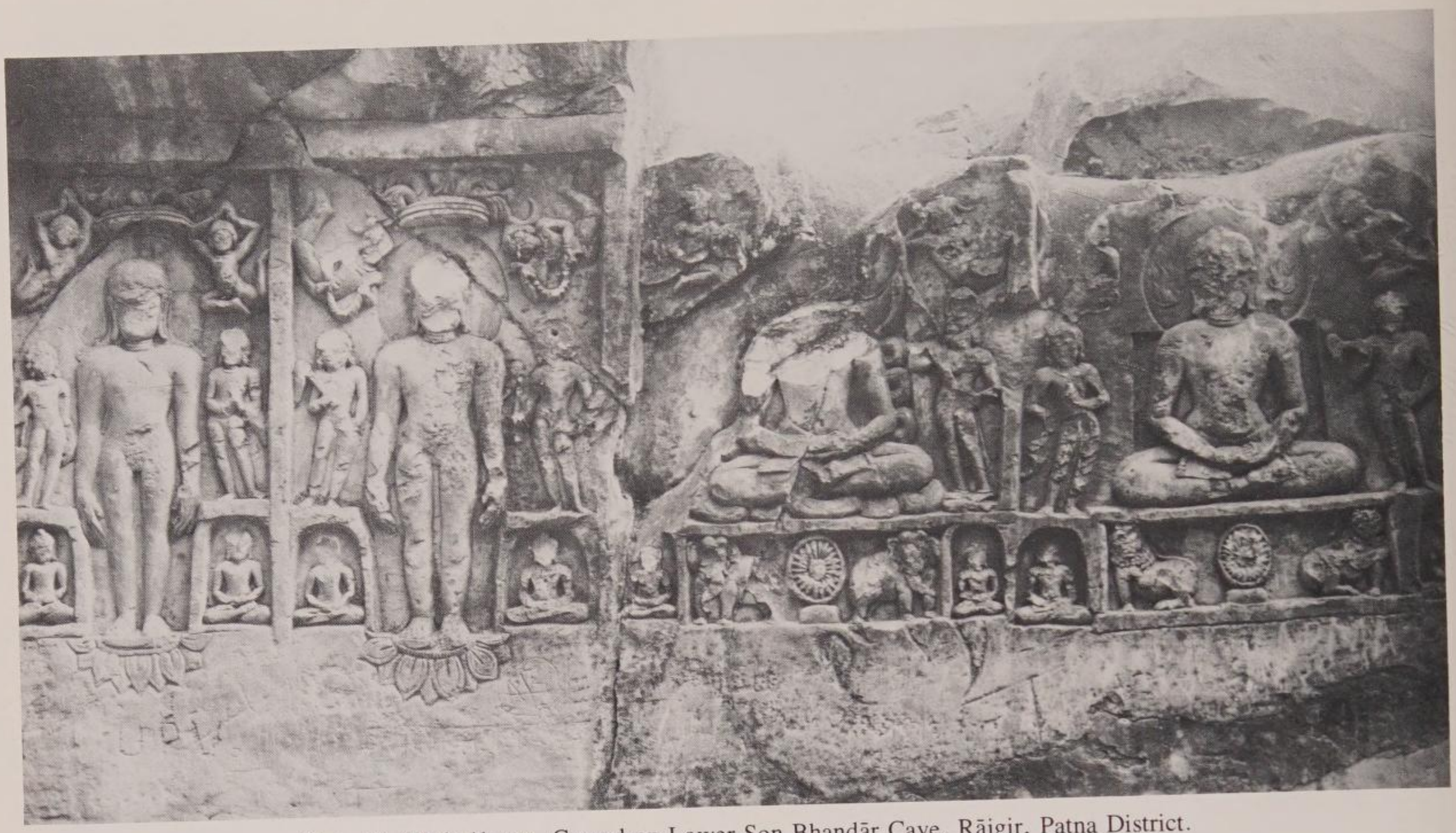


Plate 16. Tīrthaṅkaras. Carved on Lower Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgir, Patna District.

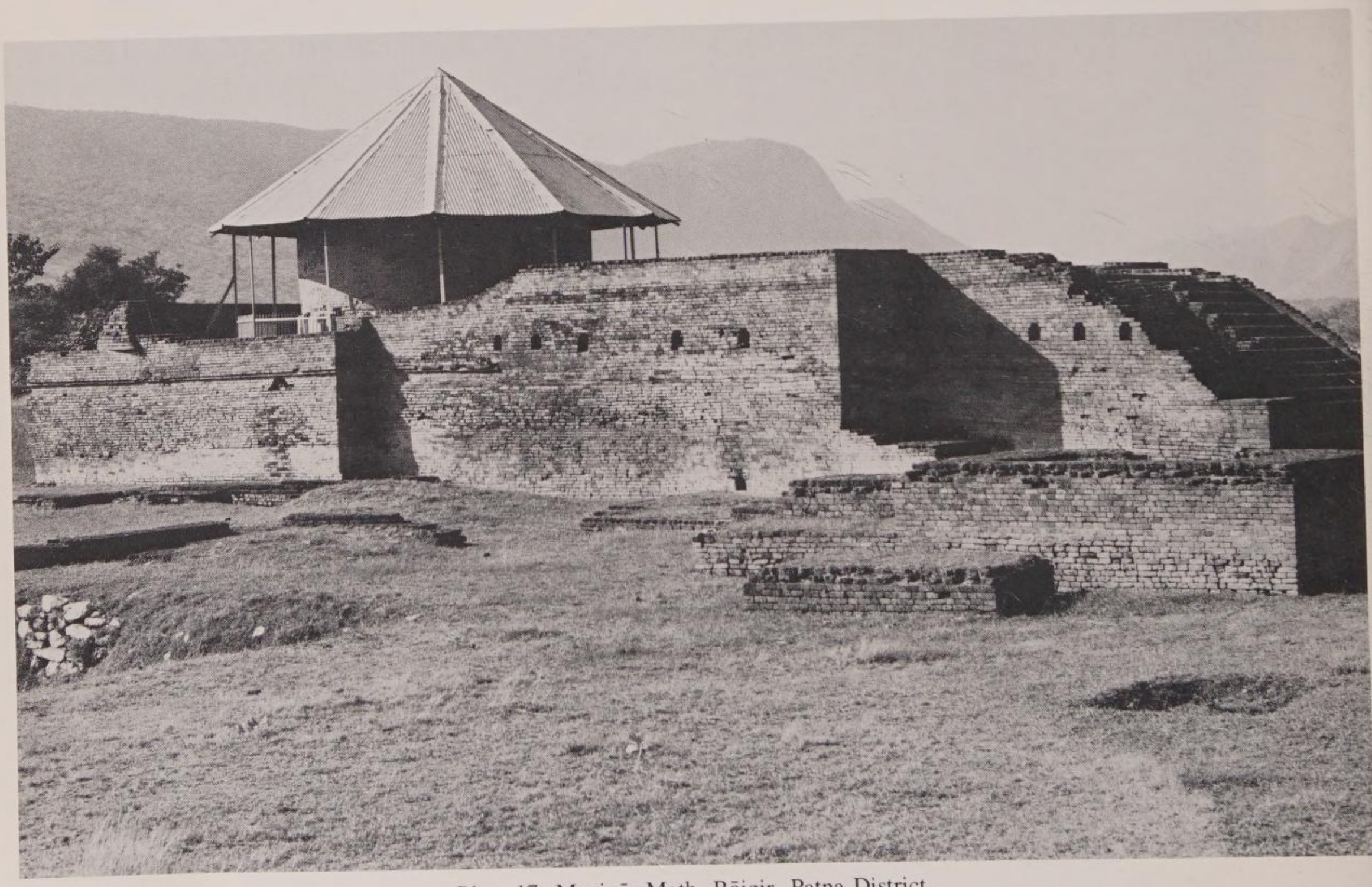


Plate 17. Maṇiyār Maṭh. Rājgir, Patna District.

Plate 18. Stucco Viṣṇu. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 19. Stucco Śiva Naṭarāja. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

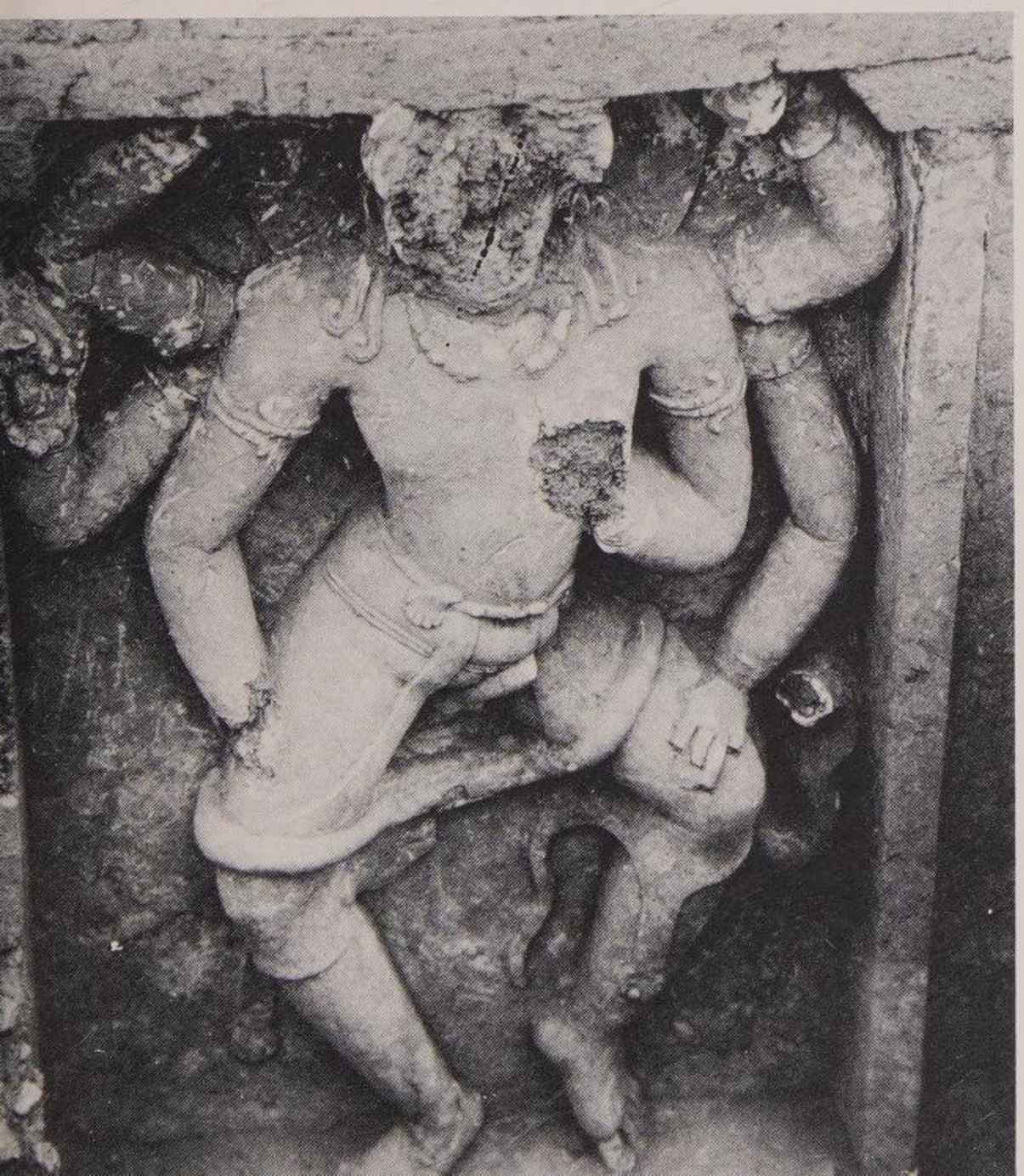


Plate 20. Stucco Nāgī. On Maṇiyār Maṭh Cylinder, Rājgir, Patna District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 21. Railing Pillar. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. Photo reproduced from A. K. Coomaraswamy, *La Sculpture de Bodghayā*.

Plate 22. Railing Pillar Medallion. Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 23. Stucco Figures. Beneath Vajrāsana Slab, Bodhgayā, Gayā District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 24. Standing Buddha. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 55″ × 26″. In compound of Bodhgayā Mahant.

Plate 25. Buddha Head. From Kumrahar, Patna District. 4⅛″ × 3″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 4448. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 26. Viṣṇu. From Patna City, Patna District. 15¼″ × 9¼″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10988. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 27. Pillars from Śiva Temple. Rājaona, Monghyr District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 28. Detail of Pillar Showing Śiva and Pārvatī on Kailāsa. From Rājaona, Monghyr District. 53″ × 15½″ square. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25106. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 29. Detail of Pillar Showing Śiva Receiving Gaṅgā. From Rājaona, Monghyr District. 49″ × 16″ square. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25112. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 30. Viṣṇu Anantaśāyī. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 31. Varāha. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 32. Narasiṁha. Shāhkuṇḍ, Bhāgalpur District. 35¼″ × 18″.

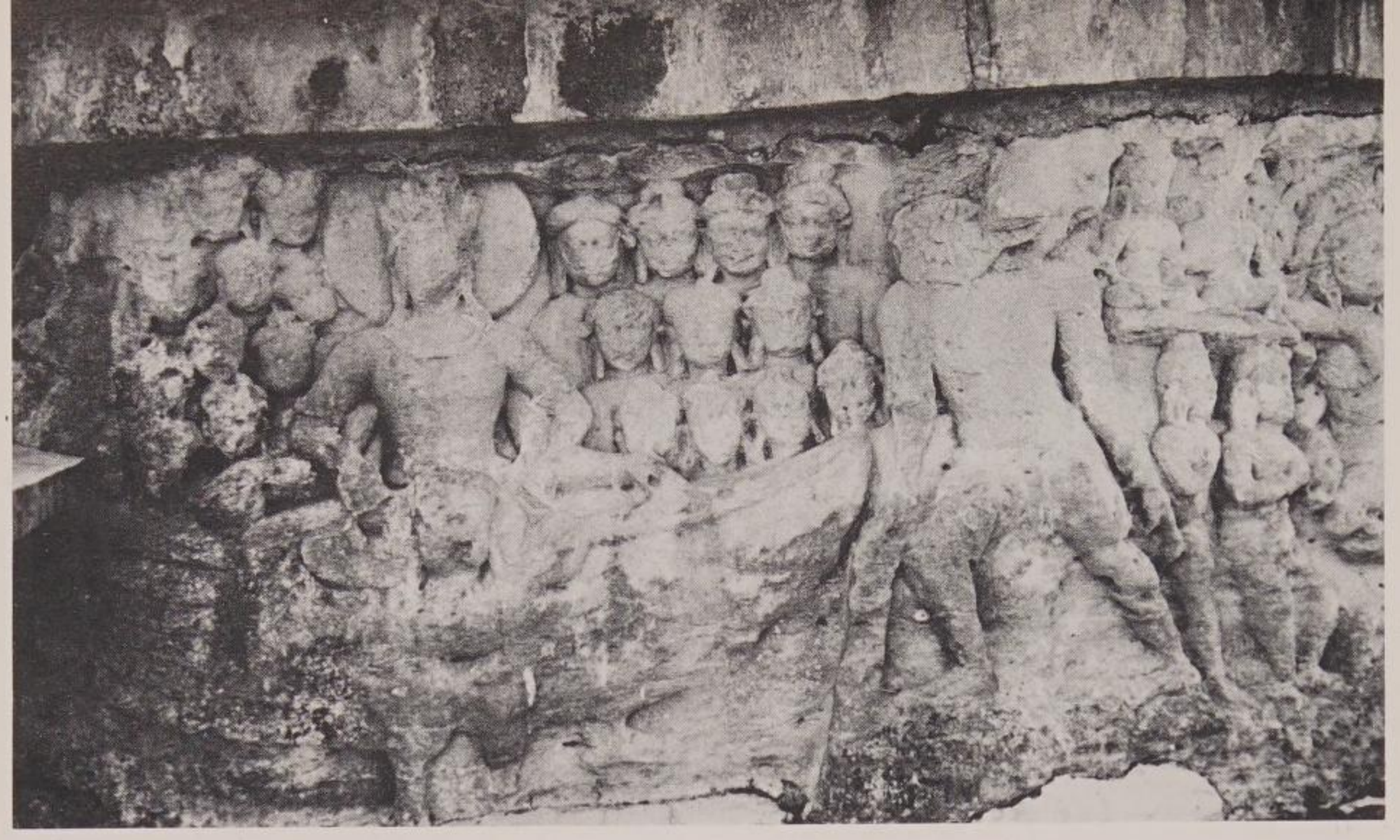


Plate 33. Viṣṇu on Garuḍa. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District. 36″ high.

Plate 34. Kṛṣṇa Raising Mount Govardhana. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District. 36″ high.

Plate 35. Kṛṣṇa Wrestling With Cāṇūra. On rock overlooking Gaṅgā River, Pātharghāṭā, Bhāgalpur District. 36″ high.

Plate 36. Standing Buddha. From Bihārail, Rājshāhi District. 43½″ × 19″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. A(a)1/217. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 37. Viṣṇu. From Nārhaṭṭa, Bogra District. 26″ × 13″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 2912. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 38. Cakrapuruṣa. From Sālār, Murśidābād District. Museum of the Baṅgiya Sahitya Parisad, Calcutta. Photo after A. Ghose, "An Image of Ārya Avalokiteśvara of the Time of Vainyagupta," *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIII (1945). Reproduced courtesy of the Baṅgiya Sahitya Parisad.

Plate 39. Terracotta Head. From Panna, Midnapur District. 9″ × 5¾″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. T3767. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 40. Stucco Head. Chaḍpādā, Murśidābād District. 6⅝″ × 5½″. West Bengal State Archaeological Gallery. Reproduced courtesy of the West Bengal State Archaeological Gallery.

Plate 41. Terracotta Sū
Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra Distr
Mahasthān Site Muse
Reproduced courtesy of
Department of Archaeology
Museums, Government of
People's Republic of Banglade

Plate 42. Śiva temple. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. Drawing by William or Thomas Daniel. India Office, London. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Director of the India Office Library and Records.

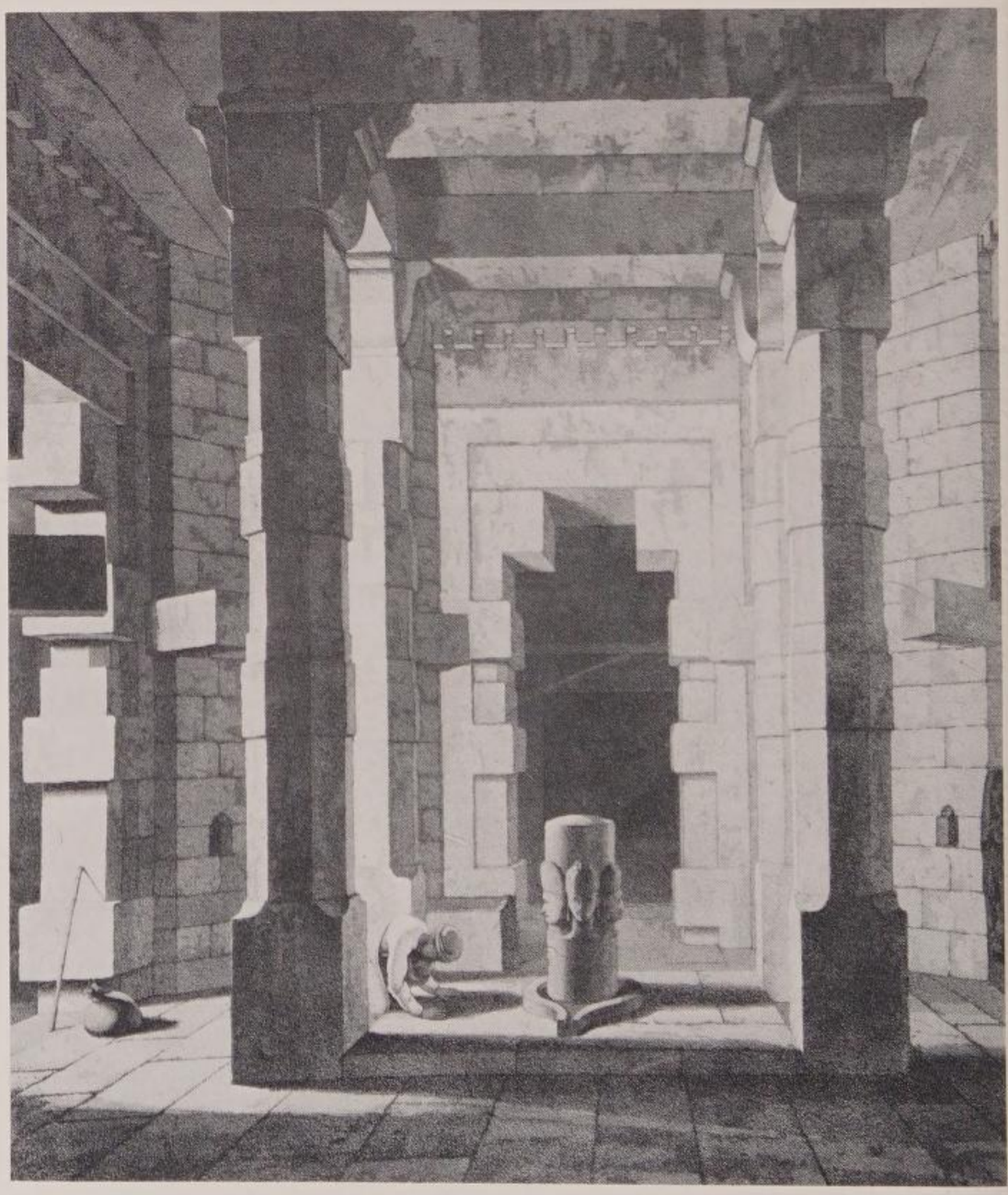


Plate 43. Śiva temple interior. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. Drawing by William or Thomas Daniel. India Office, London. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Director of the India Office Library and Records.

Plate 44. Śiva temple from southwest. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

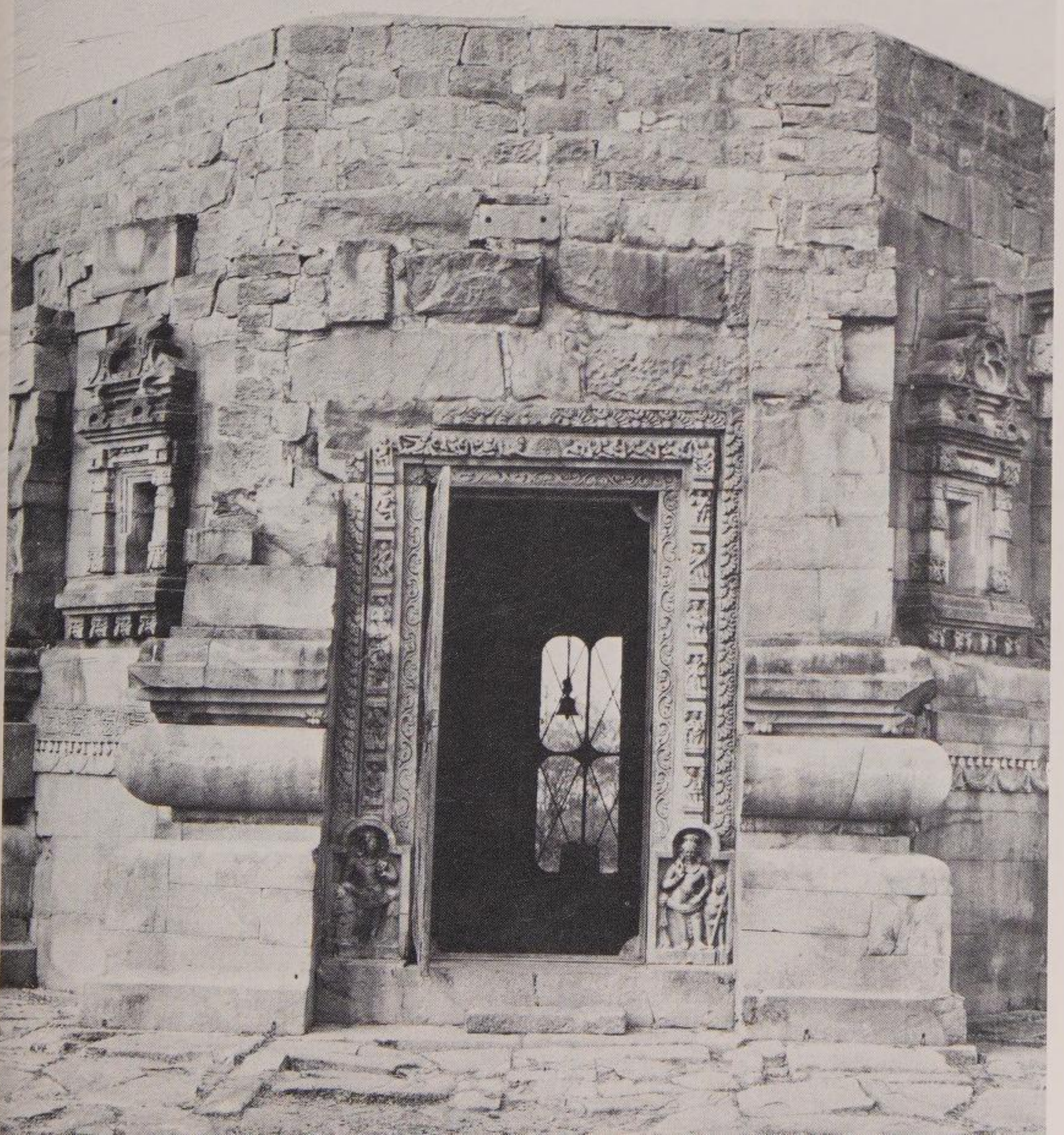


Plate 45. South door of Śiva temple. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 46. Śiva temple from west. Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. Photo copyright, Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 47. Door Guardian. South doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 48. Door Guardian. West doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District.

Plate 49. Sūrya. West doorway of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 28¾″ high.

Plate 50. Liṅga. From interior of Śiva temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 23¼″ high.

Plate 51. Kārttikeya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 25¾″ × 16½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6003. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 52. Hari-Hara. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 22¾″ × 11″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6008. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 53. Agni. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 17″ × 13″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6011. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

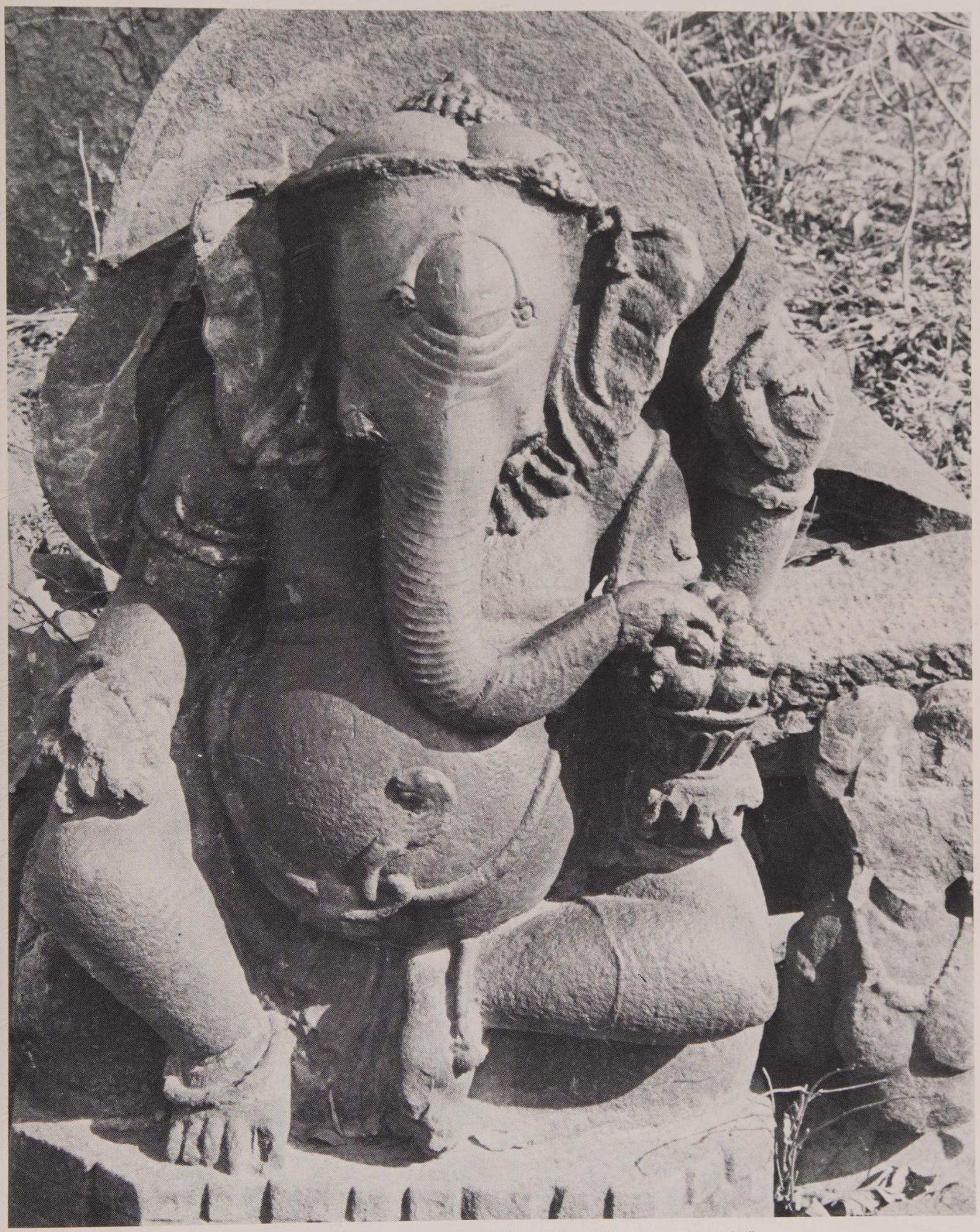


Plate 54. Gaṇeśa. On Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 48″ × 26½″.

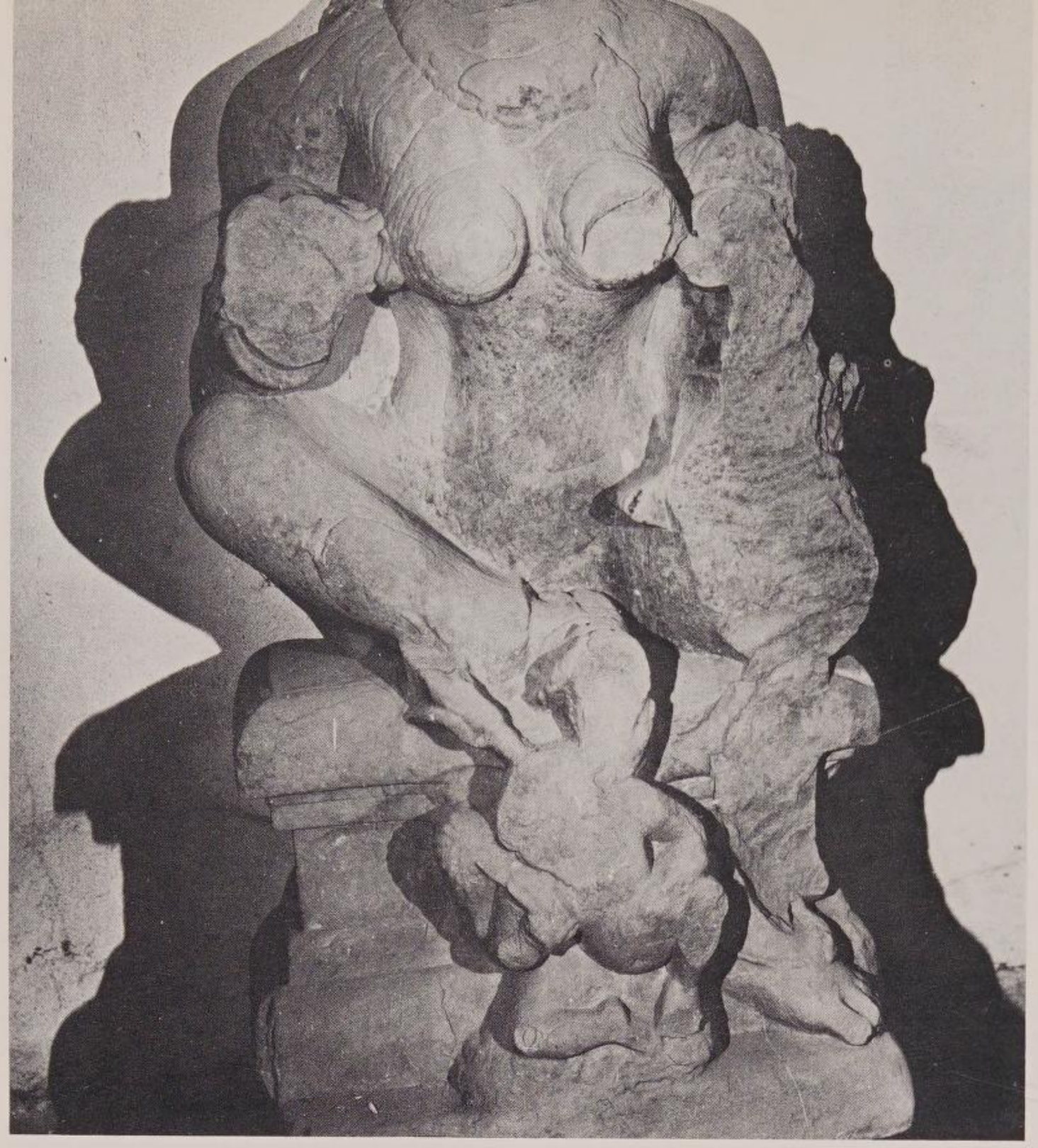


Plate 55. Mātṛkā. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 49″ × 21″. Patna Museum, unaccessioned. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 56. Mātṛkā. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 49″ × 21″. Patna Museum, unaccessioned. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 57. Sūrya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 24″ × 9½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6015. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 58. Kārttikeya. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 25″ × 9½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6006. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 59. Pārvatī. From Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 24¾″ × 9½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6005. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 60. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 33″ × 12¾″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. 6290. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 61. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. View of reverse. Photo courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 62. Buddha Protected by Mucilinda. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 22½″ × 13½″. In compound of Bodhgayā Mahant.

Plate 63. Buddha. Probably from Bodhgayā, Gayā District. Indian Museum, Acc. No. Br. 9. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 64. Indrāṇī. Probably from Amānwā, Gayā District. 20½″ × 11¾″. Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Acc. No. 20362. Reproduced courtesy of Bharat Kalā Bhavan, Banaras Hindu University. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 65. Viṣṇu. Installed outside modern Viṣṇu temple, Koṅch, Gayā District.

Plate 66. Revanta. From Pachār Hill, Gayā District. 23¾″ × 15¼″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10648. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 67. Great Stūpa, Site No. 3. View from northeast, Nālandā, Patna District. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 68. Stucco Standing Buddha. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

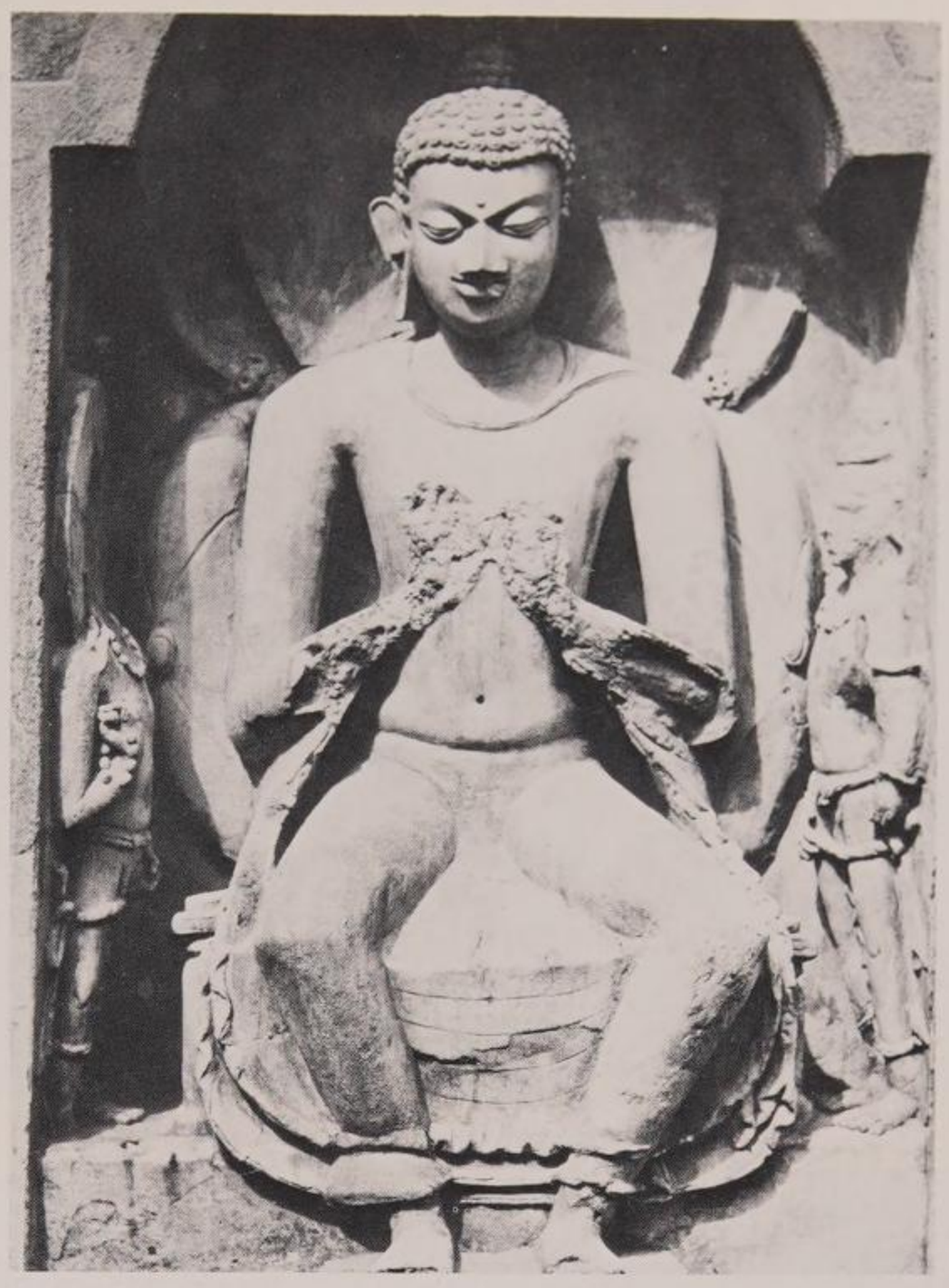


Plate 69. Stucco Seated Buddha. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 70. Stucco Standing Avalokiteśvara. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 71. Stucco Seated Mañjuśrī. On Great Stūpa, Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District.

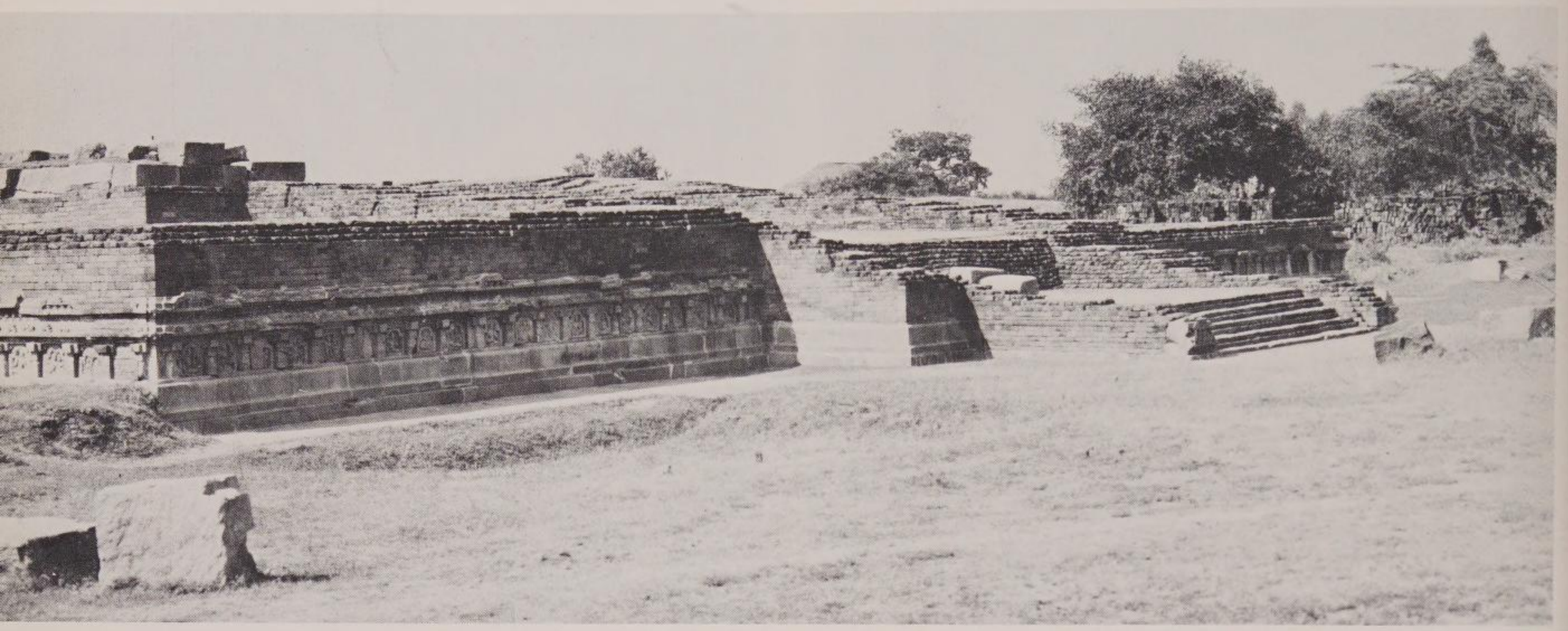


Plate 72. Stone Temple Plinth, Site No. 2. View from southeast, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 73. Standing Male Figure. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 74. Mālādhara. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 75. Panels. On stone temple plinth of Site No. 2, Nālandā, Patna District.

Plate 76. Panel with Gandharvas. From platform of monastery court, Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 10777. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 77. Detail of panel with Gandharvas.

Plate 78. Seated Buddha. From Tetrāwāṅ, Patna District. 39¼″ × 21″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. 3746. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 79. Seated Buddha. From Telhāra, Patna District. 26½″ × 17¾″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 674. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 80. Seated Neminātha. Outside Temple 1, Ratnagiri, Rājgir, Patna District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 81. Seated Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District. 47½″ × 23¾″. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

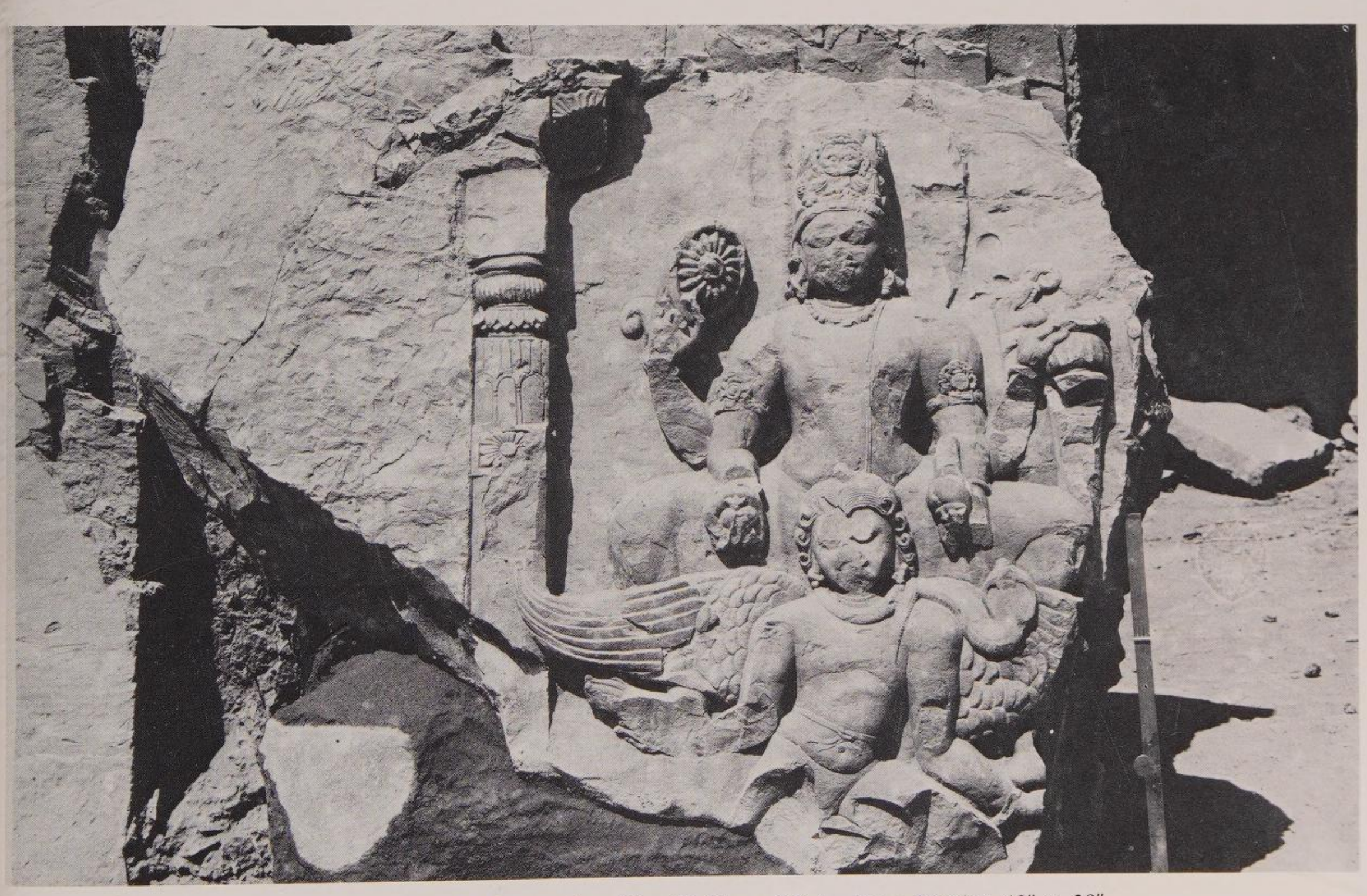


Plate 82. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. Found in Lower Son Bhaṇḍār Cave, Rājgir, Patna District. 42″ × 38″. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

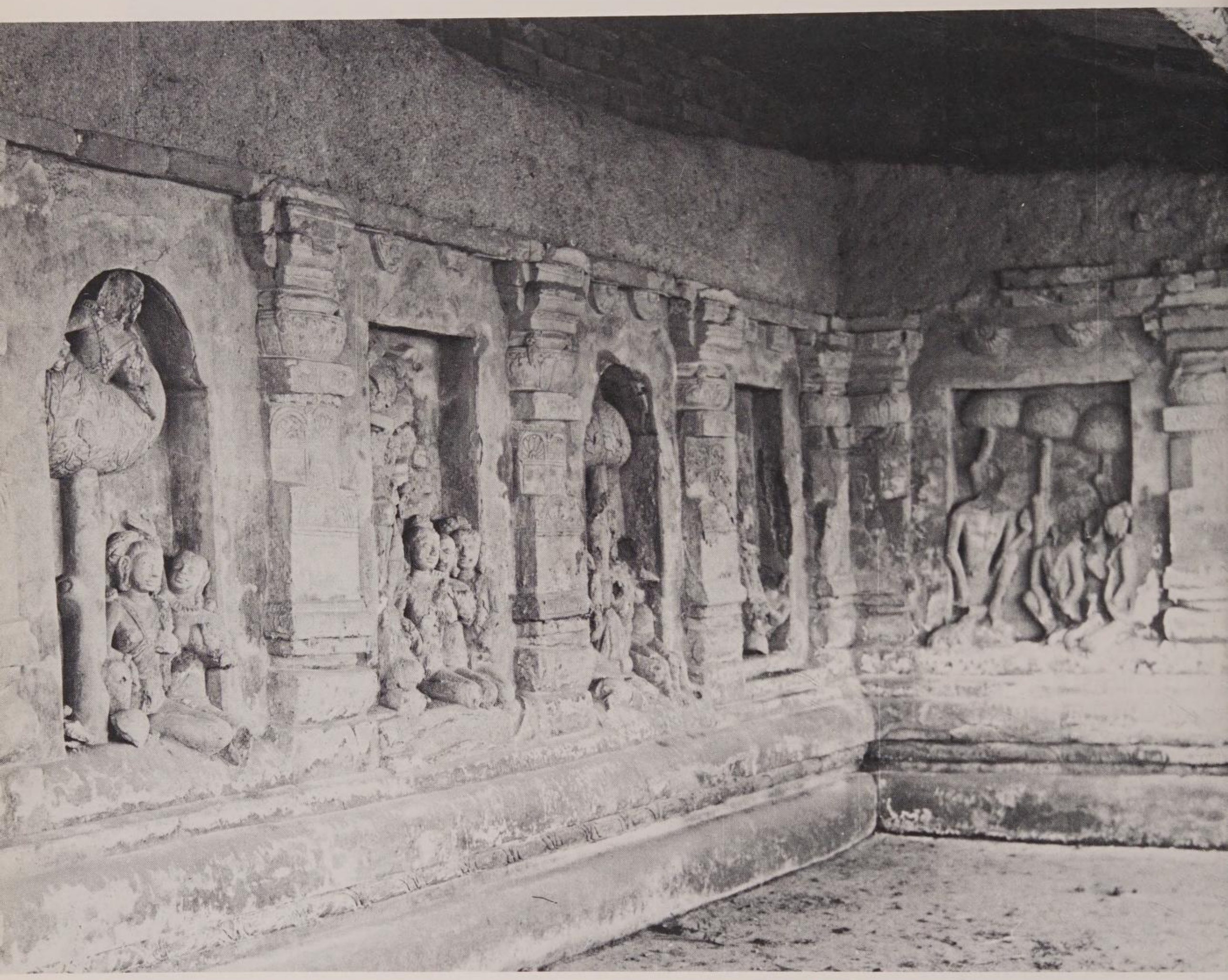


Plate 83. Stucco panels of temple plinth. Aphsaḍ, Gayā District.

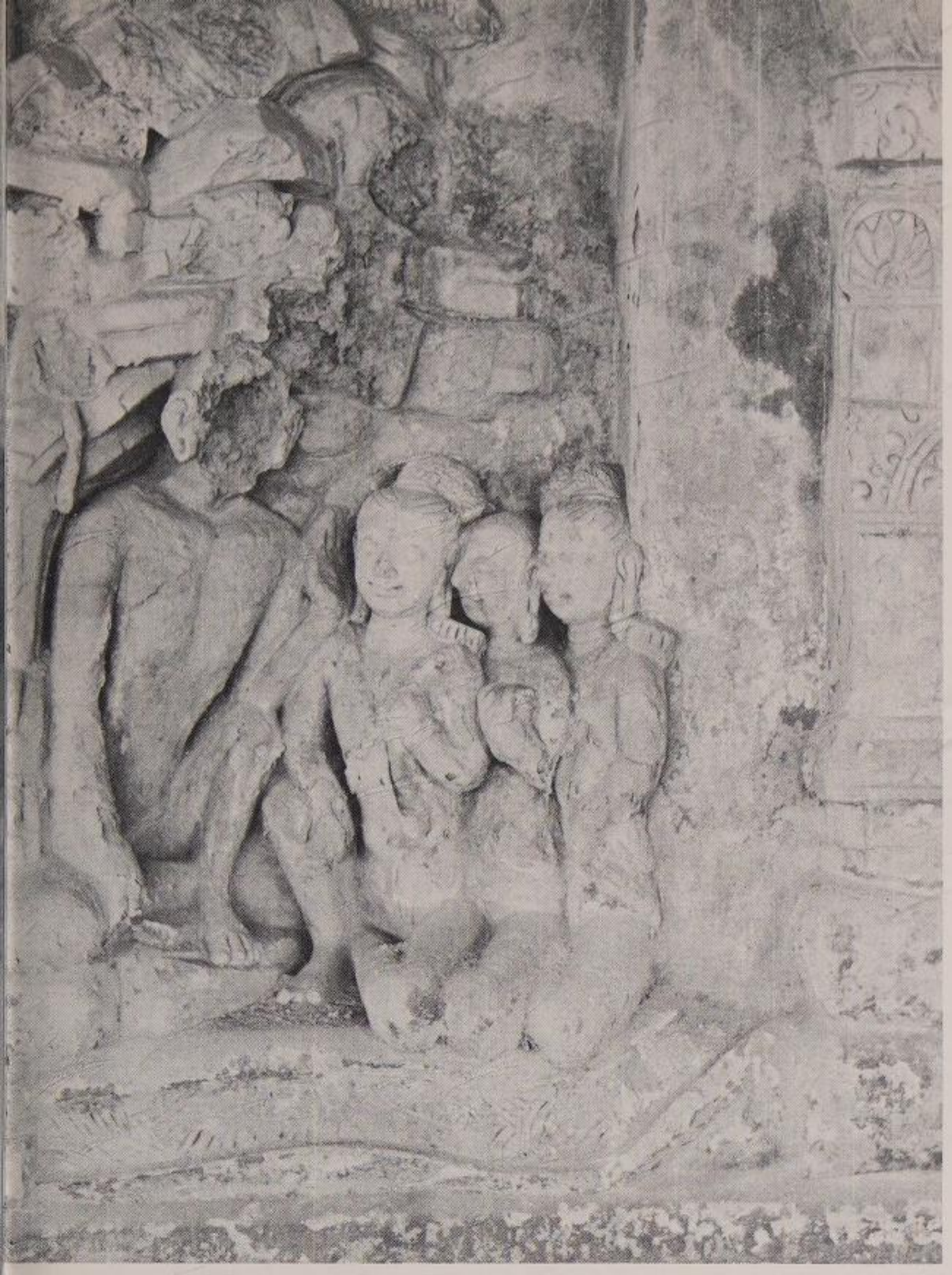


Plate 84. Rāma Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa with Guru. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 36¼″ × 19¼″.

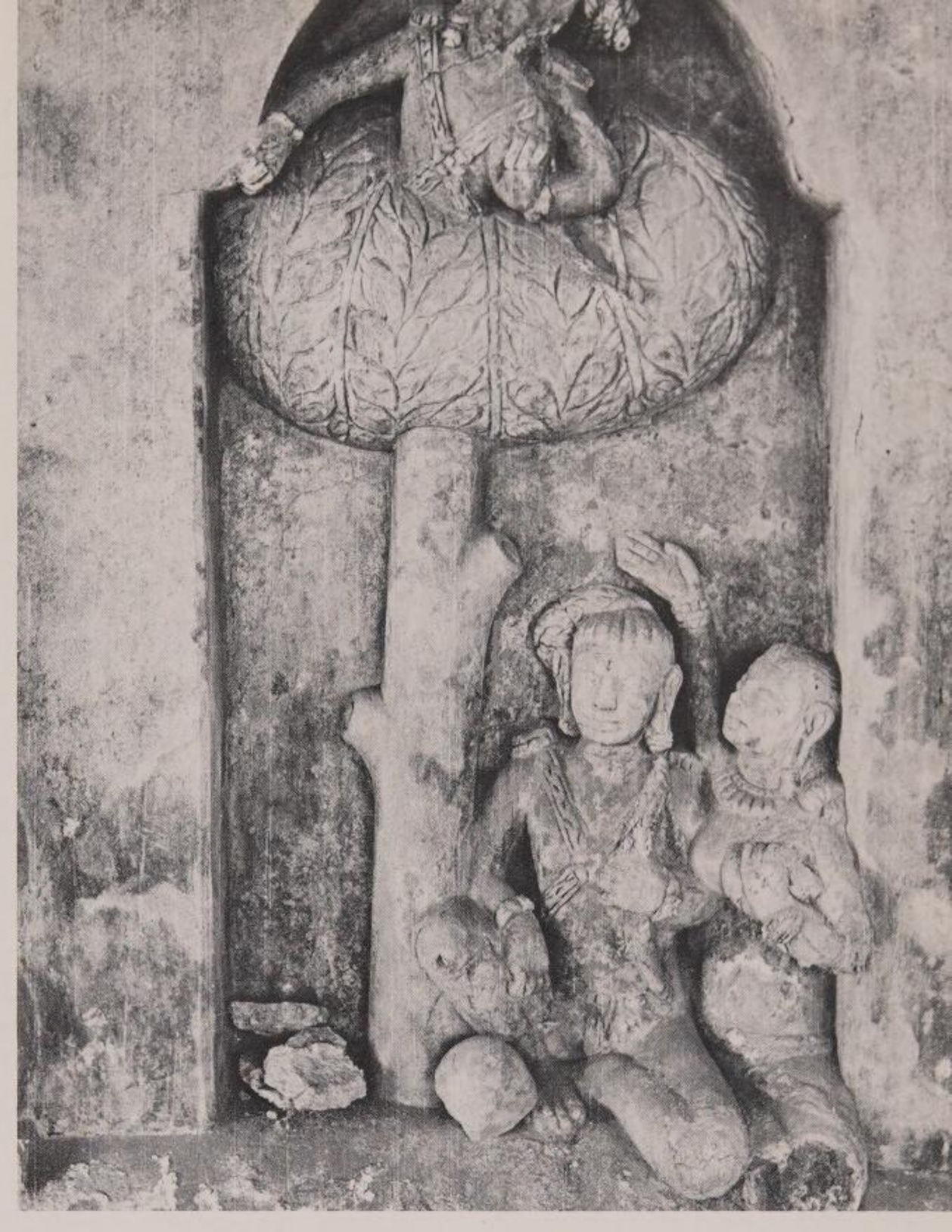


Plate 85. Rāma and Sītā Beneath Tree. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 37¾″ × 19¼″.

Plate 86. Rāma, Sītā, and Lakṣmaṇa Crossing the Waters. Stucco panel on temple plinth, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 37″ × 23¾″.

Plate 87. Varāha. Now in modern temple, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

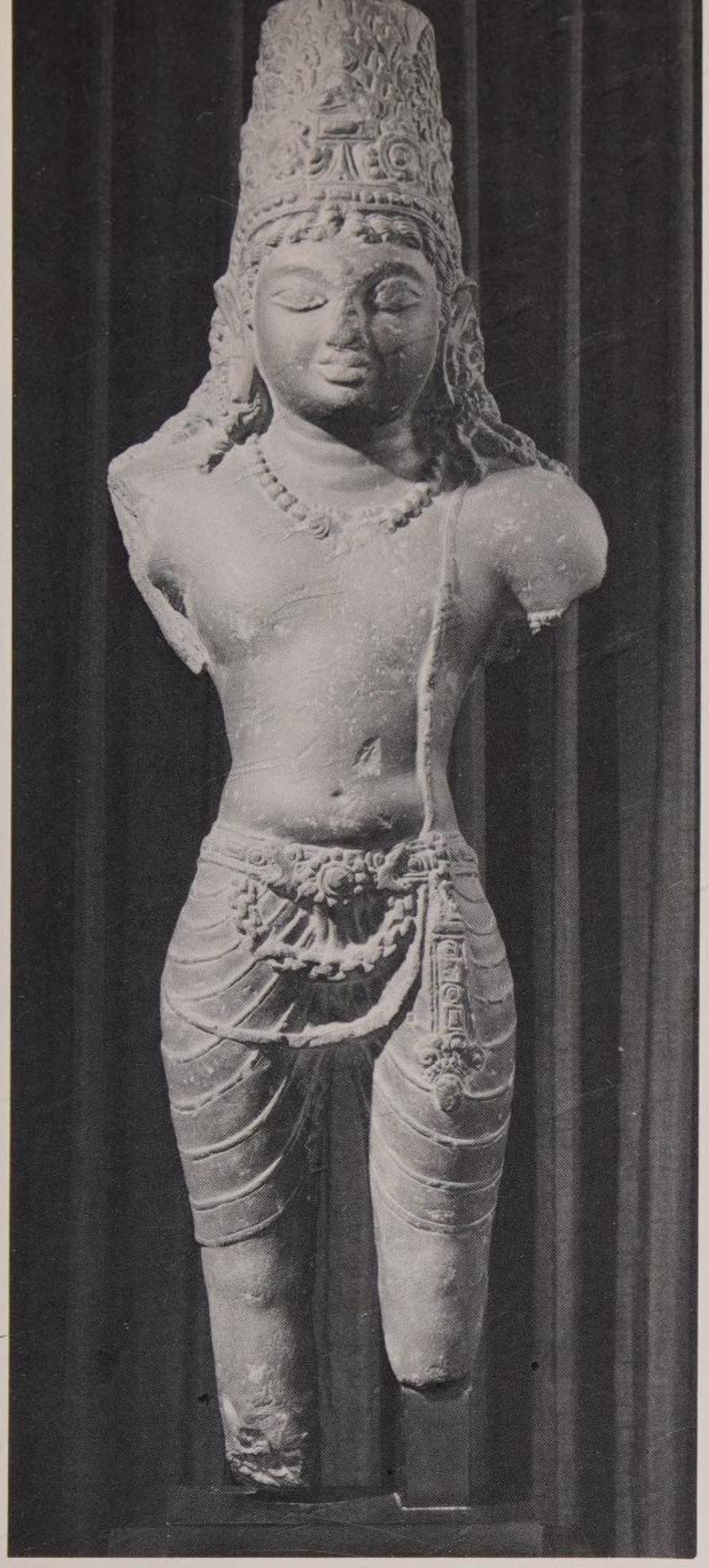


Plate 88. Viṣṇu. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 36″ × 11½″. Private Collection, New York.

Plate 89. Cakrapuruṣa. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 30¼″ × 6½″. The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, Acc. No. 45.367. Photo and reproduction courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Plate 90. Lower Torso of Sūrya. Outside of Varāha Shrine, Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 13¾″ × 11¾″.

Plate 91. Cakrapuruṣa. From Marūī, Gayā District. 26″ × 18″. Naradah Museum, Nawādā. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

Plate 92. Reverse of Cakrapuruṣa from Marūī.

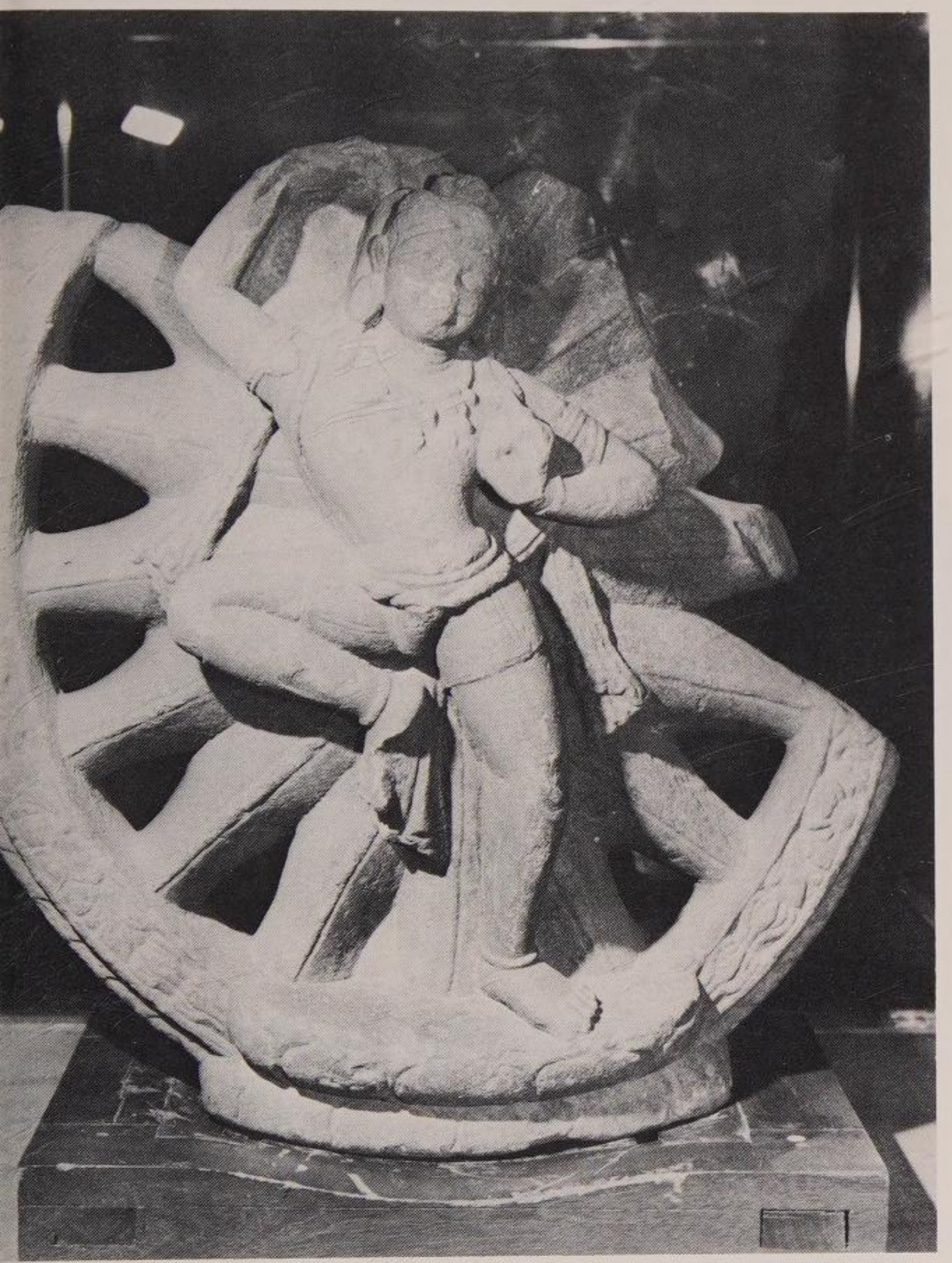


Plate 93. Cakrapuruṣa. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District.
23¼″ × 23¼″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 11262.
Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 94. Reverse of Cakrapuruṣa from Mahrāwāṅ.

Plate 95. Kārttikeya. Installed in Hari Kaṭorā temple, Vaiśāli, Muzaffarpur District.

Plate 97. Detail of Sultānganj Buddha.

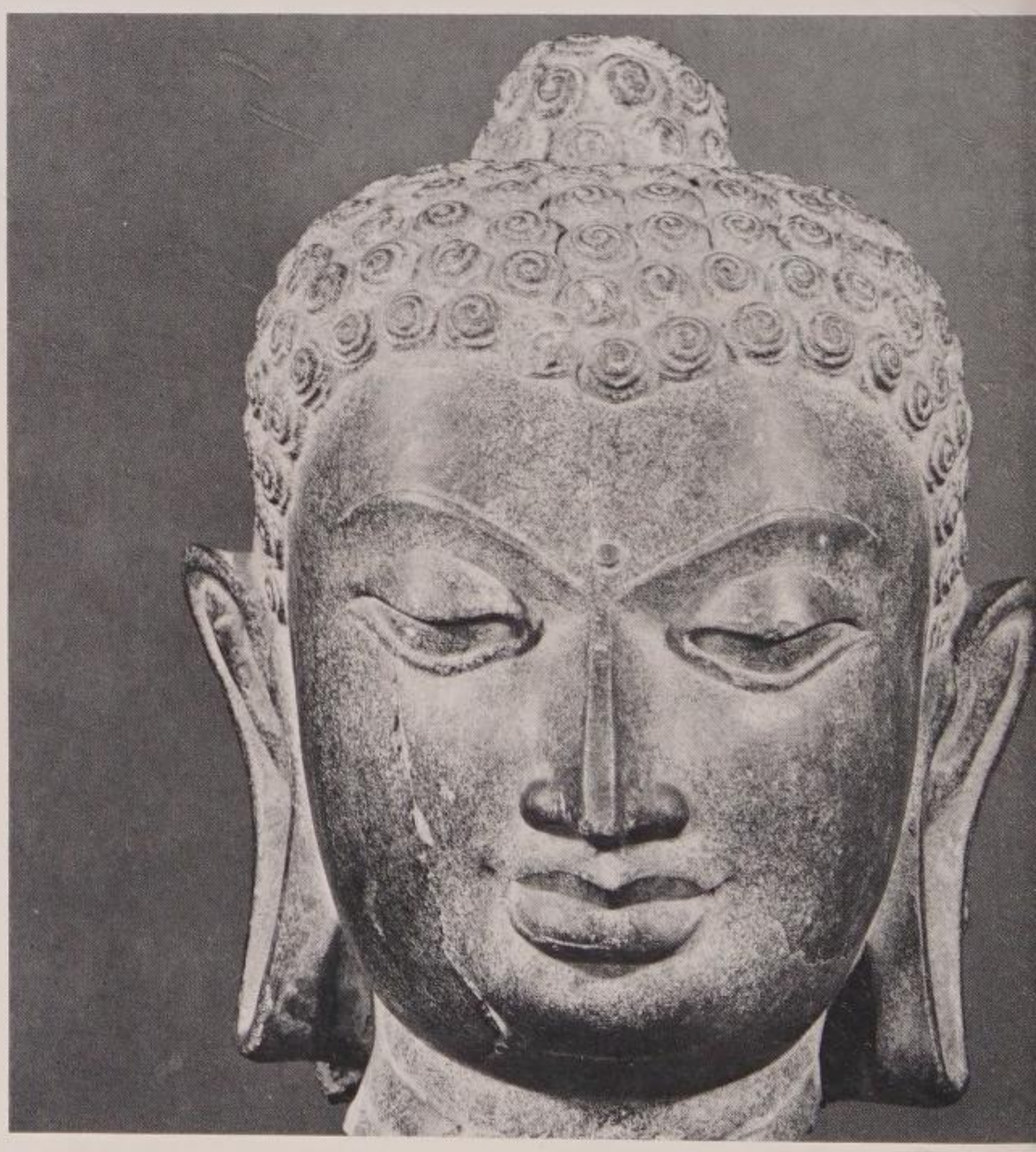


Plate 98. Buddha Head. From Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District. 8½″ high. Victoria and Albert Museum, Acc. No. I.S. 17-49. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Plate 96. Bronze Buddha. From Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District. 90″ × 42″. Birmingham Museums, Acc. No. 1116 '85. Reproduced courtesy of the Birmingham Museums and Art Gallery.

Plate 99. Bronze Buddha. Provenance unrecorded. 19½" high. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection, The Asia Society. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Asia House Gallery.

Plate 100. Bronze Buddha. Provenance unrecorded. 17" × 5¾". Norton Simon Museum, Pasadena. Photo and reproduction courtesy of The Norton Simon Foundation, Los Angeles.

Plate 101. Viṣṇu. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District. 16″ × 9¾. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 64. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 103. Male Deity. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District. 14″ × 9¼″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 61. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 102. Viṣṇu. From Benisāgar, Singhbhūm District. 17″ × 11½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 63. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 104. Viṣṇu. From Chaitānpur, Burdwān District. 48″ × 20½″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. 6523. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 105. Sūrya. Kāśipur, 24 Parganas District. 29¼″ × 12¼″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 18. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 106. Sūrya. Deorā, Bogra District. 24½″ × 16″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 693. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 107. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. Provenance unrecorded. 32″ × 18½″. The Cleveland Museum of Art, purchase from the J. H. Wade Fund, Acc. No. 61.46. Photo and reproduction courtesy of The Cleveland Museum of Art.

Plate 108. Pillar. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. Mahāsthān Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 109. Pillar. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. Mahāsthān Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 110. Stūpas of the Koṭilā Murā. Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 111. Stone Plaque from Koṭilā Murā. Mainámatī, Comilla District, Mainámatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 112. Stone Plaque from Koṭilā Murā. Mainámatī, Comilla District, Mainámatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 113. Bronze Sarvāṇī, dedicated by Prabhāvatī, Queen of Devakhaḍga. From Deulbāḍī, Comilla District. Present location unknown. Photo reproduced from N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*.

Plate 114. Bronze Sūrya. From Deulbāḍī, Comilla District. 7½″ × 6¼″. Dacca Museum, Acc. No. 2743. Reproduced courtesy of the Dacca Museum. Photo reproduced from N. K. Bhattasali, *Iconography of Buddhist and Brahmanical Sculptures in the Dacca Museum*.

Plate 115. Temple Doorway. Dah Parbatiyā, Tezpur District. Photo courtesy of Photo Service, Tezpur.

Plate 116. Detail of Dah Parbatiyā Doorway. Photo courtesy of Photo Service, Tezpur.

Plate 117. Temple Doorway. From Buxār, Shāhābād District. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25103,4,5. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 118. Detail of Buxār Doorway.

Plate 119. Temple Doorway. Now entrance to modern shrine in Mahābodhi temple compound, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

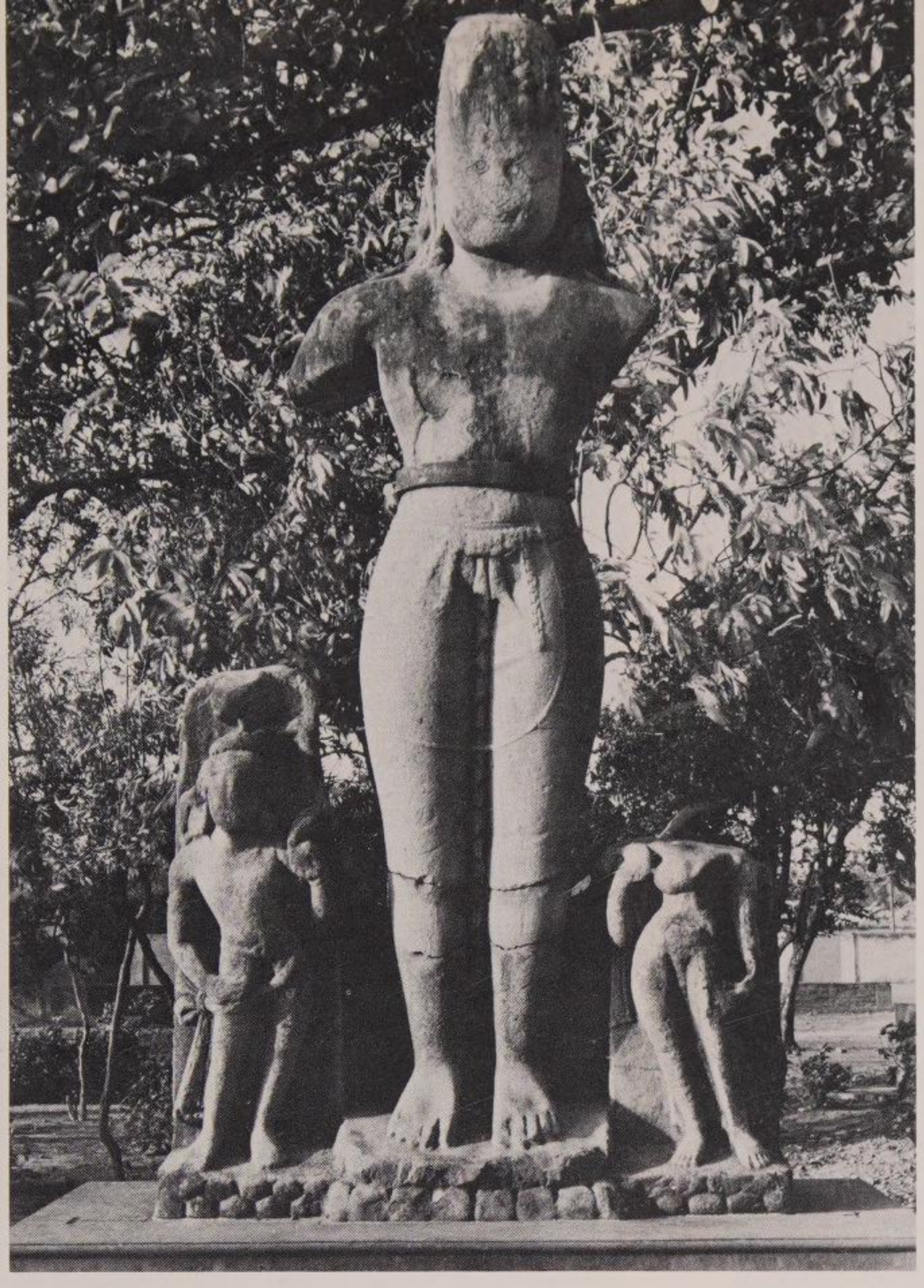


Plate 120. Viṣṇu. From Masāṛh, Shāhābād District. 129″ × 64″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 6488. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 121. Pillar Base. In compound of Śrī Bhagavatī Mandir, Masāṛh, Shāhābād District. 39½″ × 19¼″ square.

Plate 122. Pillar Capital. In compound of Śrī Bhagavatī Mandir, Masāṛh, Shāhābād District. 26¼″ × 18″ square.

Plate 123. Pillar Base. Before entrance of Muṇḍeśvarī temple, Muṇḍeśvarī Hill, Shāhābād District. 54″ × 14″ square.

Plate 124. Pillar bearing Jīvitagupta inscription. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 78½″ above present ground level.

Plate 125. Dhvajastambha. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 103″ high. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 126. Detail of Grahas on Deo Baruṇārk Dhvajastambha.

Plate 127. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 40½″ × 12¾″.

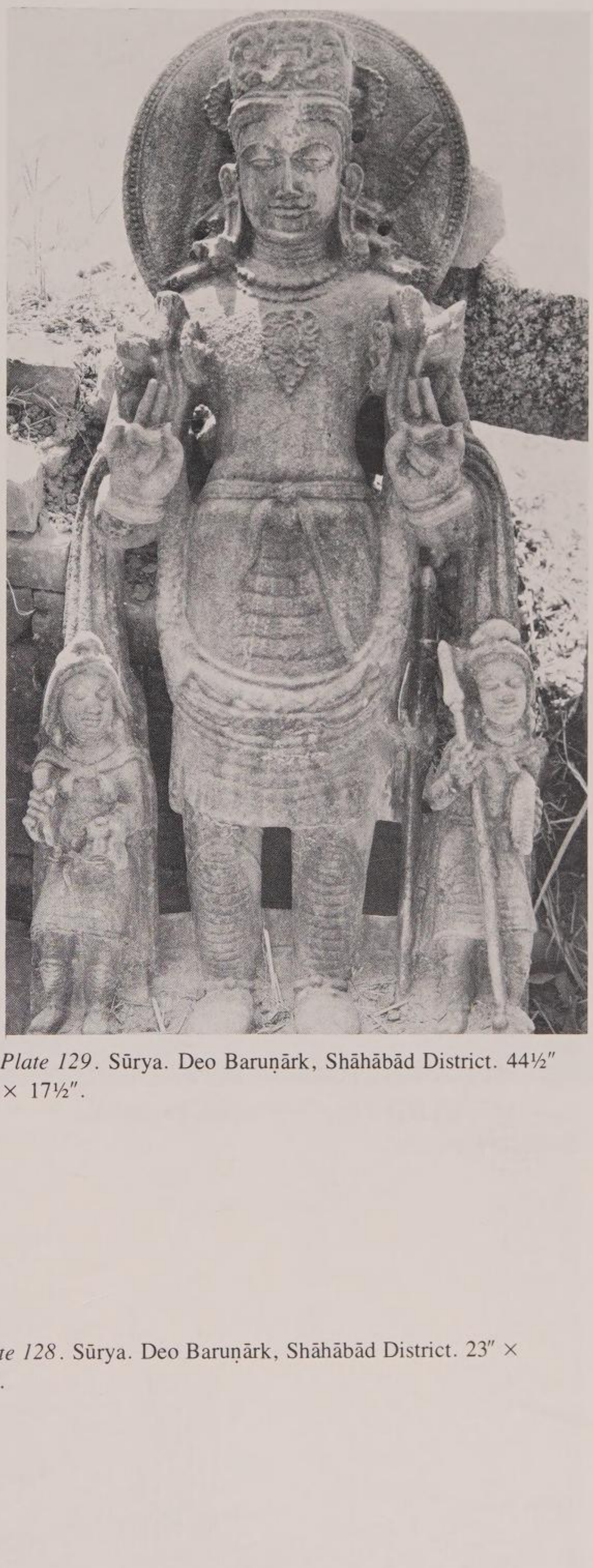


Plate 129. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 44½″ × 17½″.

Plate 128. Sūrya. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 23″ × 12″.

Plate 130. Umā-Maheśvara. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 49″ × 23½″.

Plate 131. Umā-Maheśvara. Deo Baruṇārk, Shāhābād District. 31″ × 18″.

Plate 132. Viṣṇu. Deo Markaṇḍeya, Shāhābād District. 35¾″ × 19″.

Plate 133. Viṣṇu. Deo Markaṇḍeya, Shāhābād District. 34″ × 17″.

Plate 134. Toraṇa. In front of Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

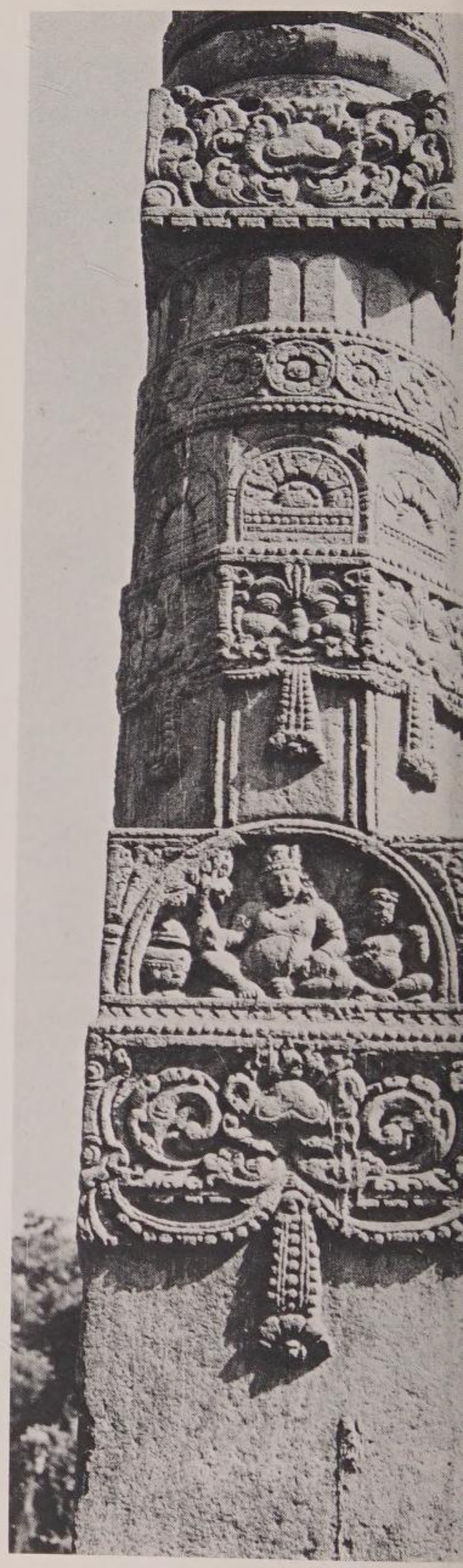


Plate 135. Detail of Bodhgayā Toraṇa.

Plate 136. Buddha.
Above entrance of Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 137. Buddha. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 28″ × 19½″. Naradah Museum, Nawādā, Acc. No. 77. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

Plate 138. Buddha. Probably from Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 33″ × 13″. Victoria and Albert Museum, Acc. No. I.S. 239-1950. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Plate 139. Buddha. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 39¾″ × 22″. In compound of Bodhgayā Mahant.

Plate 140. Buddha. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 46″ × 21¼″. Gayā Museum, Acc. No. 0.32. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

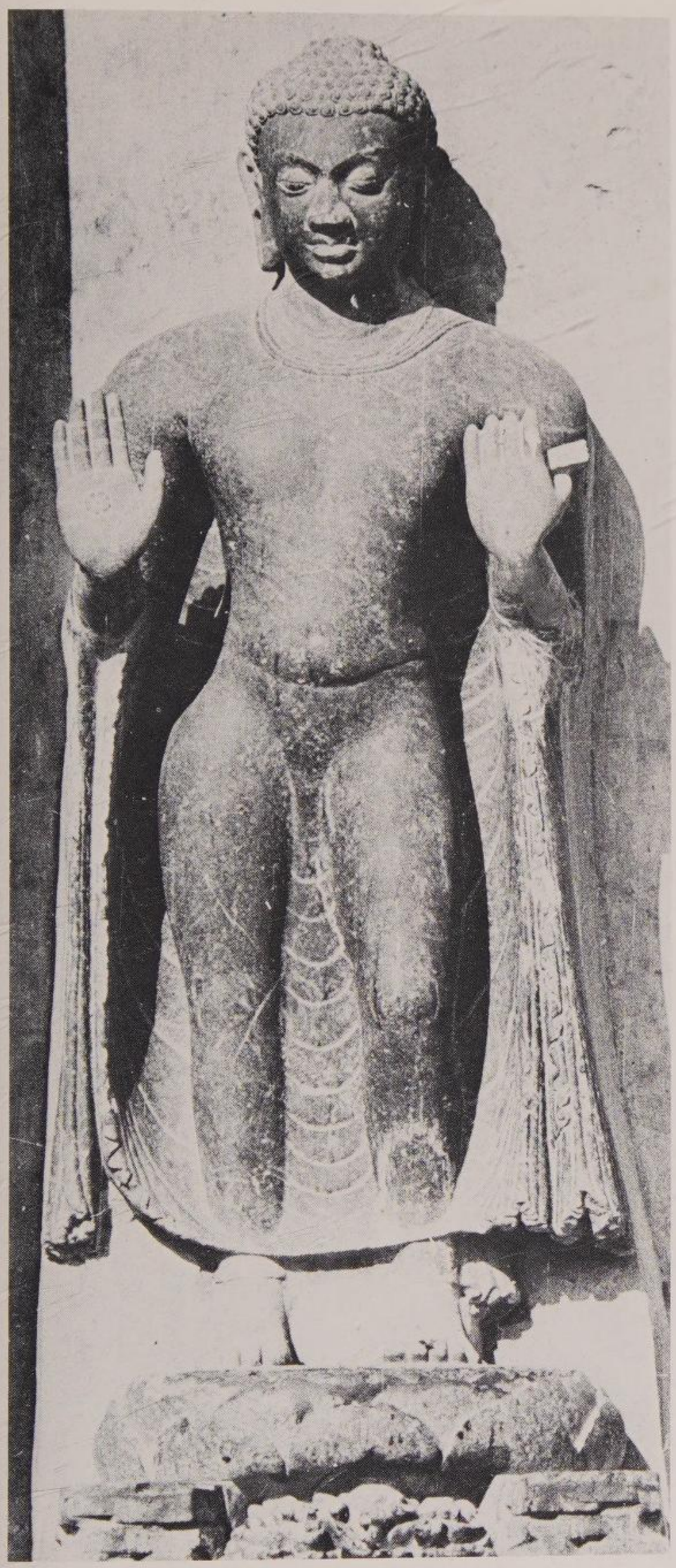


Plate 141. Buddha. Installed in niche at right of entrance to Mahābodhi temple, Bodhgayā, Gayā District.

Plate 142. Four-armed Padmapāṇi. From Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 24″ × 17¼″. Bodhgayā Site Museum, Acc. No. 2. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 143. Gilt Bronze Buddha. From Kurkihār, Gayā District. 19″ × 6″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10650. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 144. Aparājitā. From Pachār Hill, Gayā District. 27¾″ × 13½″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10650. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 145. Mañjuśrī. From Gayā District. Patna Museum, unaccessioned. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 146. Buddha. Probably from Gayā District. 48″ × 21¾″. Frank Caro Collection. Reproduced courtesy of F. J. Caro.

Plate 147. Lokanātha. Probably from Gayā District. 77″ high. Mr. and Mrs. John D. Rockefeller 3rd Collection, The Asia Society. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Asia House Gallery.

Plate 148. Umā-Maheśvara. Enshrined in modern Śiva temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District. 43″ × 20½″.

Plate 149. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in modern Viṣṇu temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District. 48″ × 20″.

Plate 150. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in modern Rāmacandra temple, Dharmāraṇya, Gayā District. 28¼″ × 16½″.

Plate 151. Balarāma. Enshrined in Maṅgla Ghori temple, Gayā, Gayā District. 51″ × 25″.

Plate 152. Viṣṇu. Enshrined in wall of Mataṅgavāpī temple, Bakraur, Gayā District. 16″ × 11″.

Plate 153. Cakrapuruṣa. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 19″ × 12″. In compound of Bodhgayā Mahant.

Plate 154. Reverse of Bodhgayā Cakrapuruṣa.

Plate 155. Viṣṇu. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 25¼″ × 12″. In compound of Bodhgayā Mahant.

Plate 156. Sūrya. Bodhgayā, Gayā District. 27″ × 14″. Bodhgayā Site Museum, Acc. No. 4. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 157. Viṣṇu. From Viṣṇupad temple, Gayā, Gayā District. 57″ × 27½″. Gayā Museum, Acc. No. 0.26. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

Plate 158. Viṣṇu. From Kṛṣṇa Dvārkā temple, Gayā, Gayā District. 21″ × 12″. Gayā Museum, Acc. No. 0.8. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

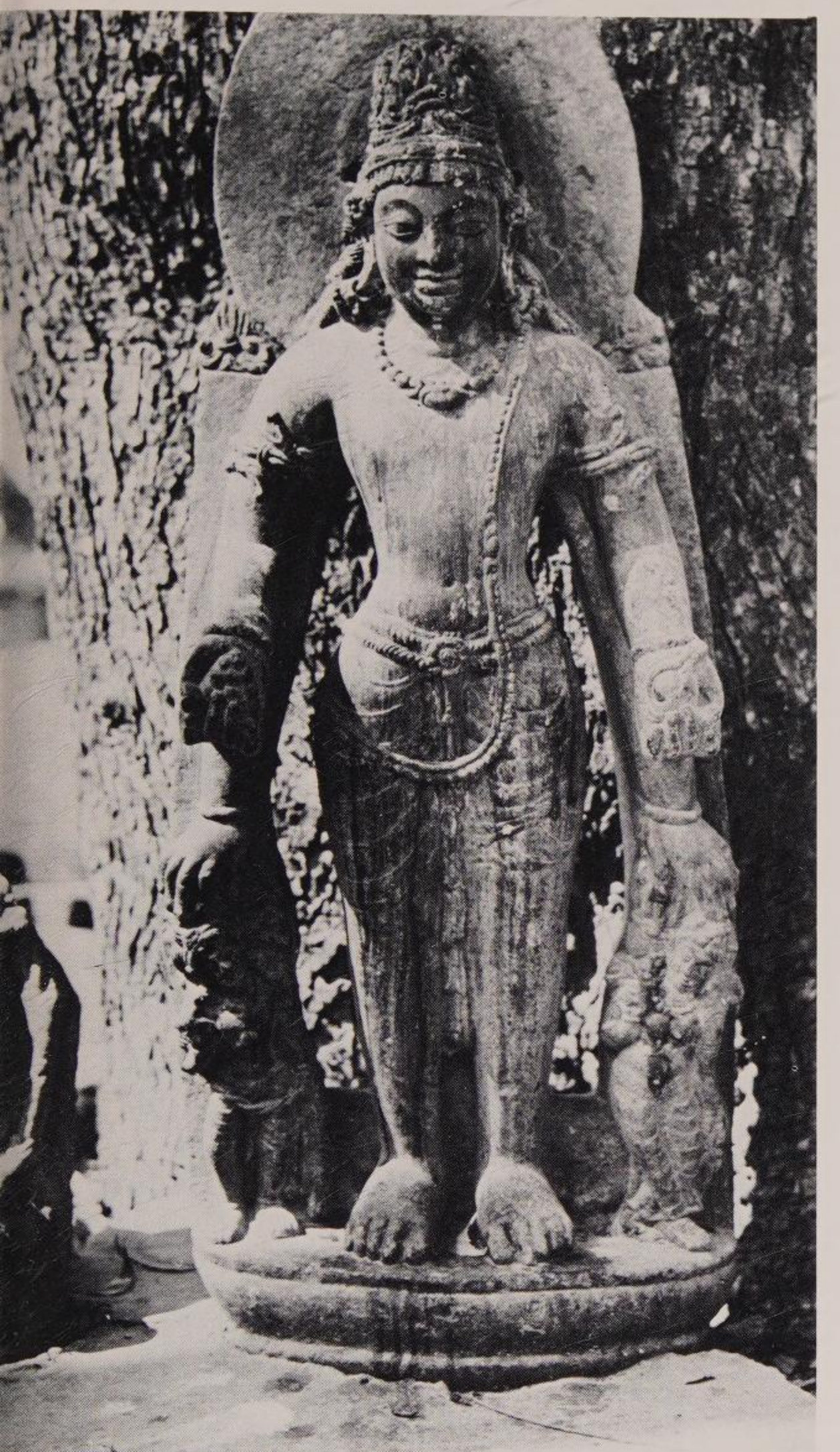


Plate 159. Viṣṇu. In front of modern Viṣṇu temple, Koṅch, Gayā District. 32″ × 13″.

Plate 160. Ekamukha Liṅga. In front of Koṅcheśvara temple, Koṅch, Gayā District. 27½″ × 9″.

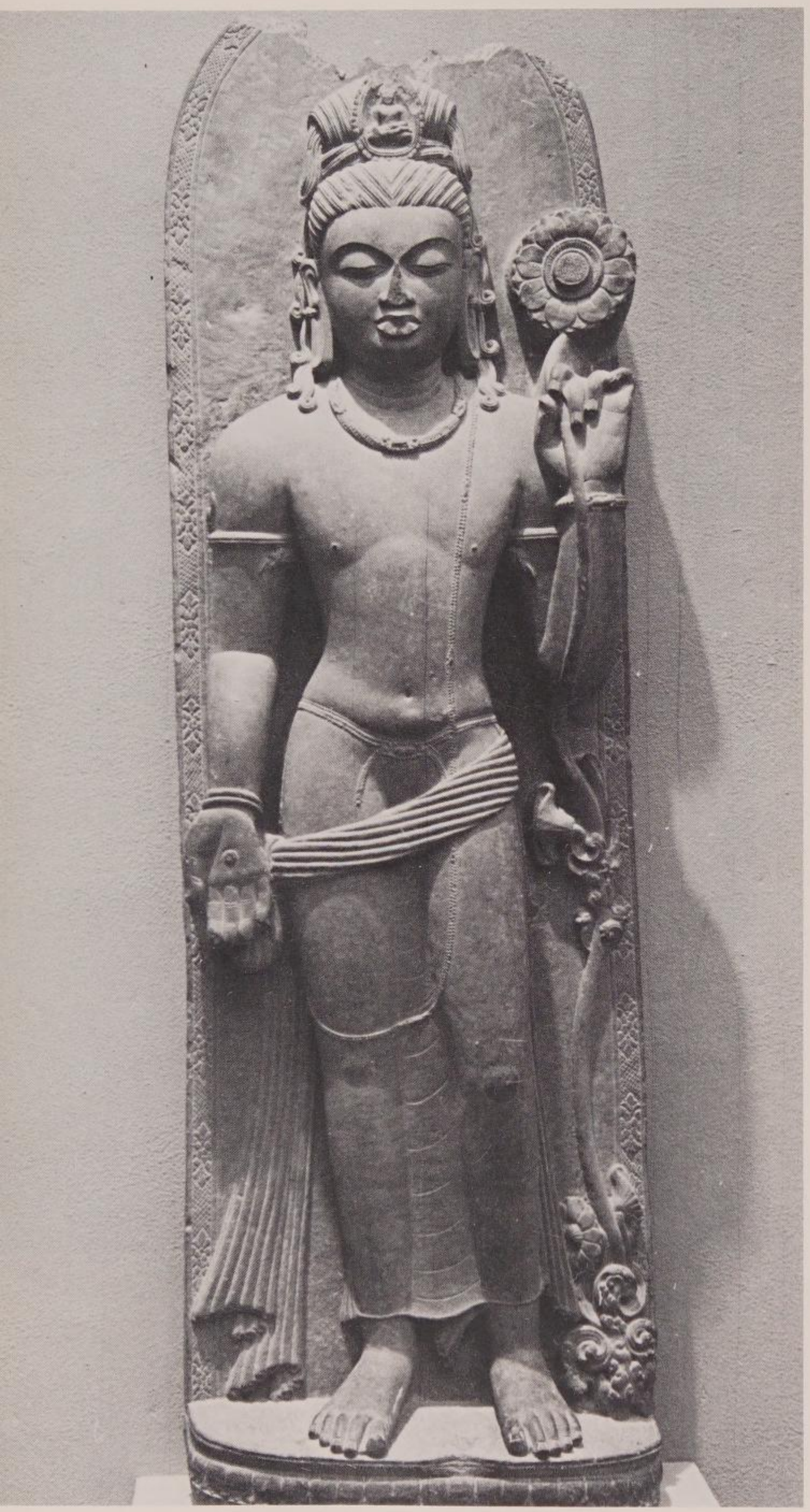


Plate 161. Lokanātha. From Site No. 12, Nālandā, Patna District. 58″ × 18″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 49.148. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate 162. Lokanātha. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District. 77¾″ × 24¾″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 6. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 163. Avalokiteśvara. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District. 58″ × 33″. Nālandā Museum, unnumbered. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

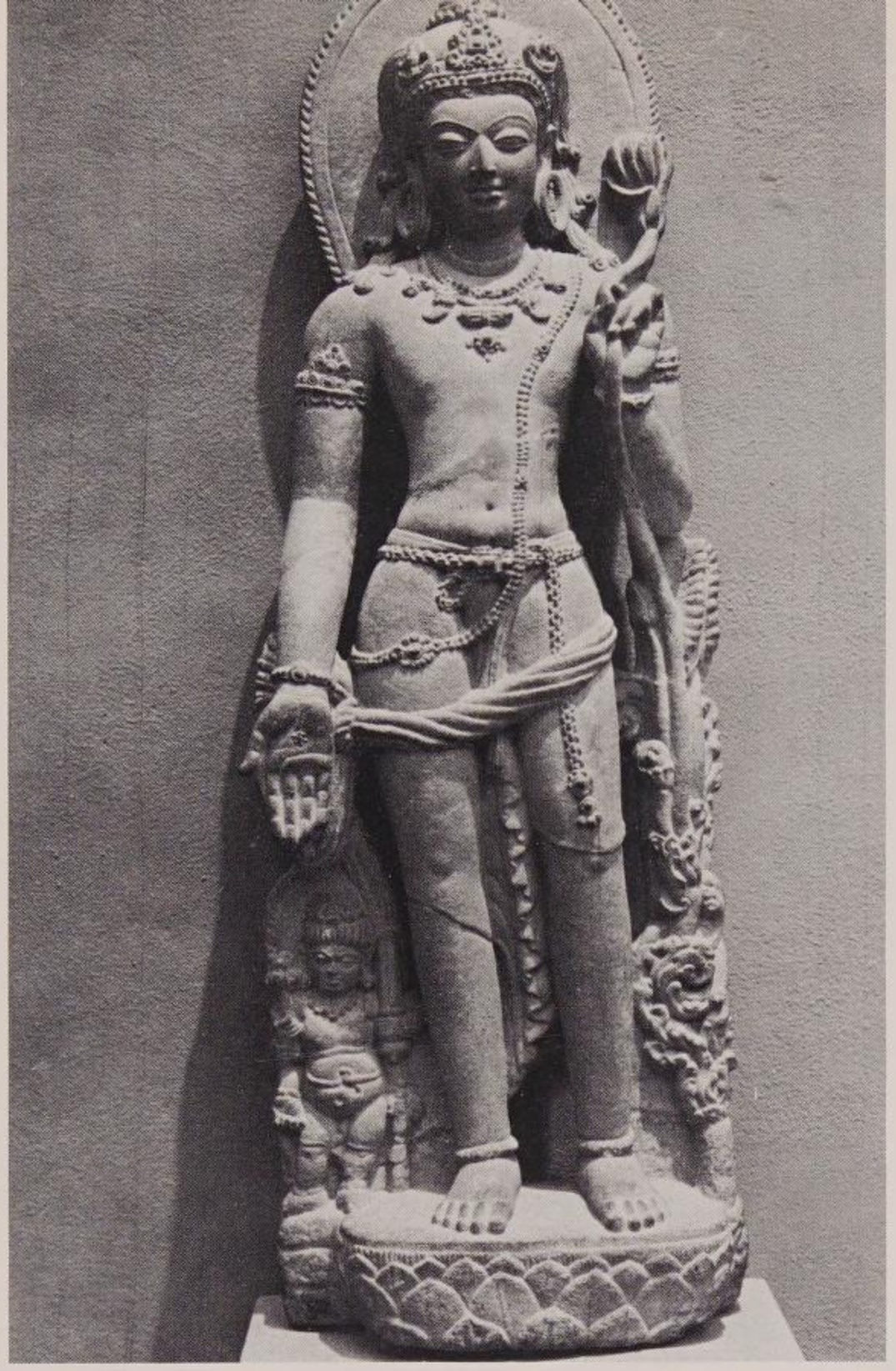


Plate 164. Mañjuśrī. From Site No. 8, Nālandā, Patna District. 42½″ × 14½″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 59.528. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi.

Plate 165. Mañjuśrī Torso. Probably from Nālandā, Patna District. 36″ × 11″. British Museum, Acc. No. 1924, 1-10,2. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

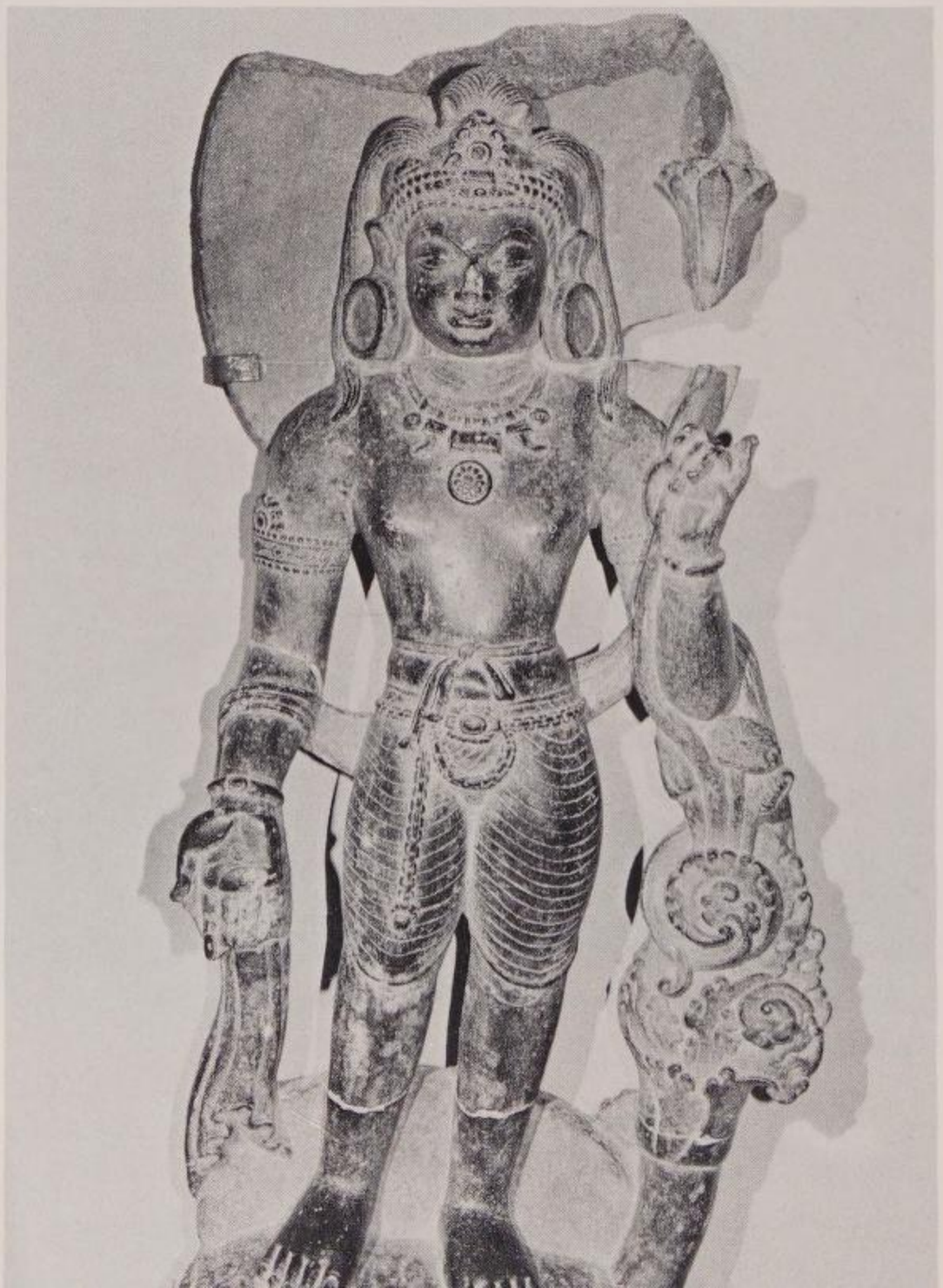


Plate 166. Mañjuśrī. Nālandā, Patna District. 28½″ × 22¾″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 10511. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 167. Sarasvatī. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District. 24¼″ × 22¾″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 3. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 168. Nāgarāja. From Site No. 3, Nālandā, Patna District. 47″ × 23¼″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 4. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 169. Gilt Bronze Buddha. From Site No. 8, Nālandā, Patna District. 11¾″ × 6¼″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 153. Reproduced courtesy Archaeological Survey of India. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 170. Gilt Bronze Avalokiteśvara. From Site No. 8, Nālandā, Patna District. 12″ × 6½″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 156. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 171. Bronze Mañjuśrī. From Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District. 4″ × 3¼″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 10754. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 172. Bronze Flag-Bearing Bodhisattva. From Nālandā, Patna District. 7″ × 4″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 49.132. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

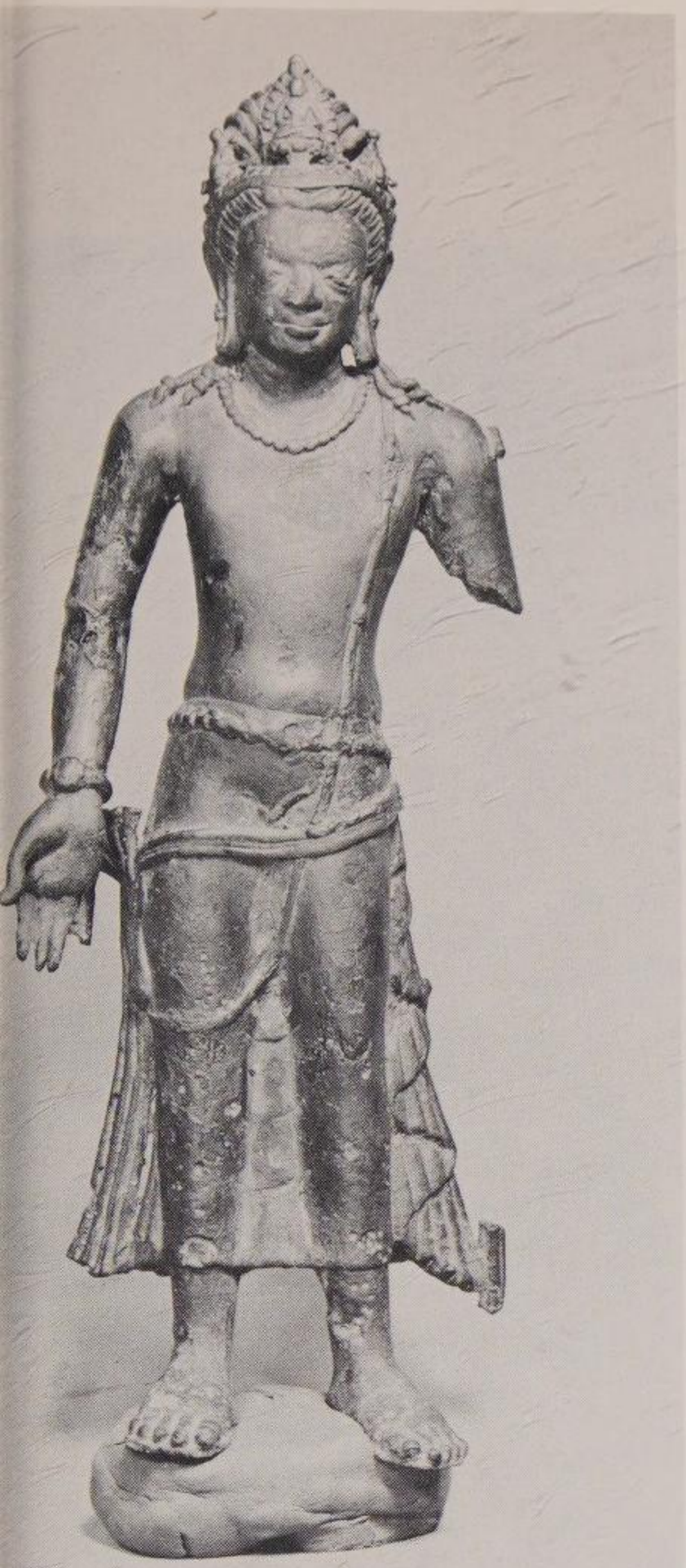


Plate 173. Bronze Lokanātha. Nālandā, Patna District. 8½″ × 3½″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 11147. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 174. Stone Lokanātha. Nālandā, Patna District. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 00005. Reproduced courtesy Archaeological Survey of India. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 175. Bronze Stūpa. From Nālandā, Patna District. 15½″ × 7¼″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 49.129. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 176. Bronze Pārvatī. From Nālandā, Patna District. 6¼″ × 2¾″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 49.127. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 177. Bronze Balarāma, dedicated during reign of Devapāla. From Site No. 1, Nālandā, Patna District. 10½″ × 4¼″. National Museum of India, Acc. No. 47.36. Reproduced courtesy of the National Museum, New Delhi. Photo copyright of the Archaeological Survey of India.

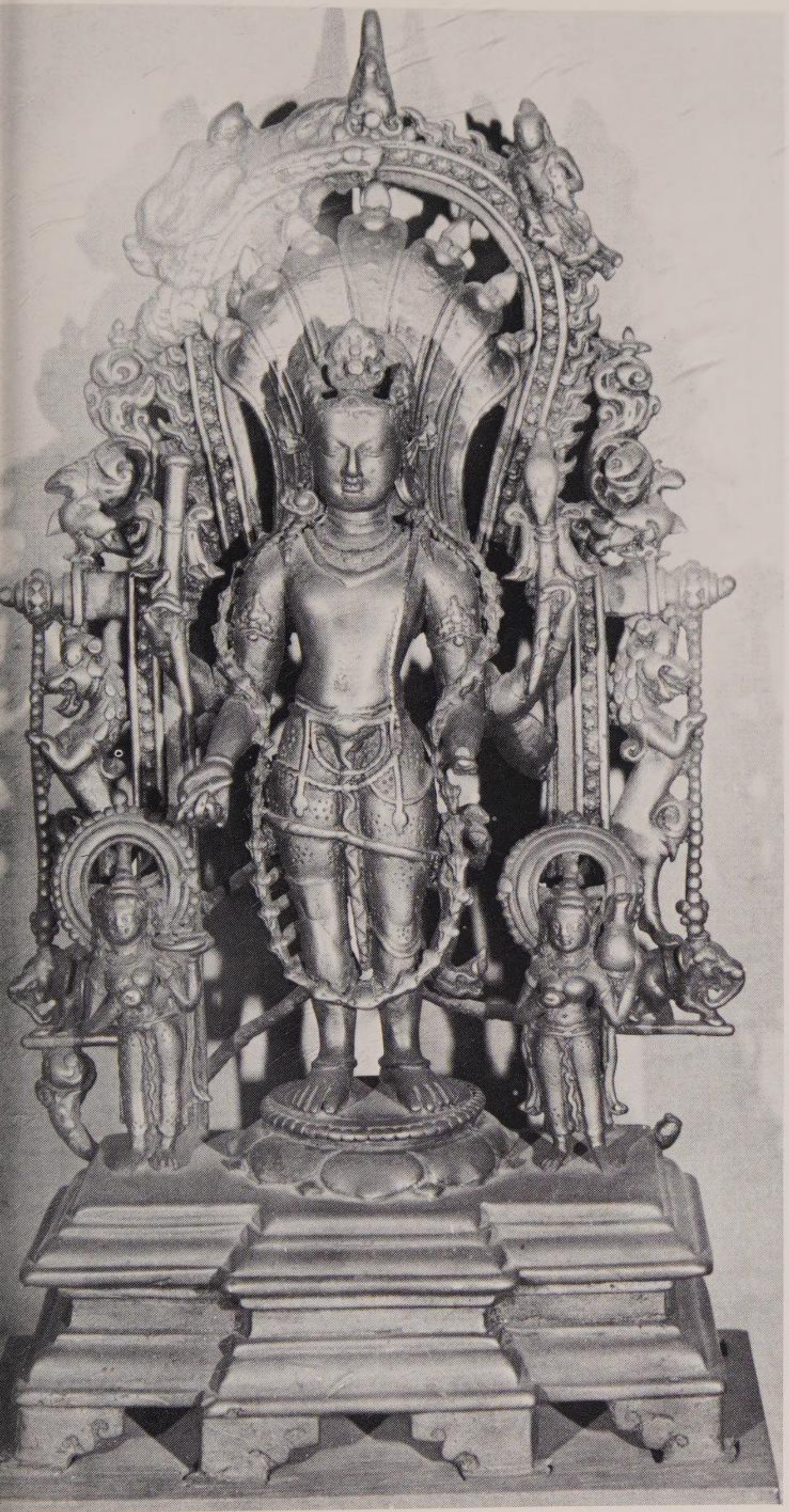


Plate 178. Bronze Balarāma, dedicated in 9th year of Devapāla's reign. From Kurkihār, Gayā District. 15″ × 7¼″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 9751. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 179. Bronze Buddha. From Site No. 9, Nālandā, Patna District. 17¾″ × 7″. Nālandā Museum, Acc. No. 10761. Reproduced courtesy of the Archaeological Survey of India. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

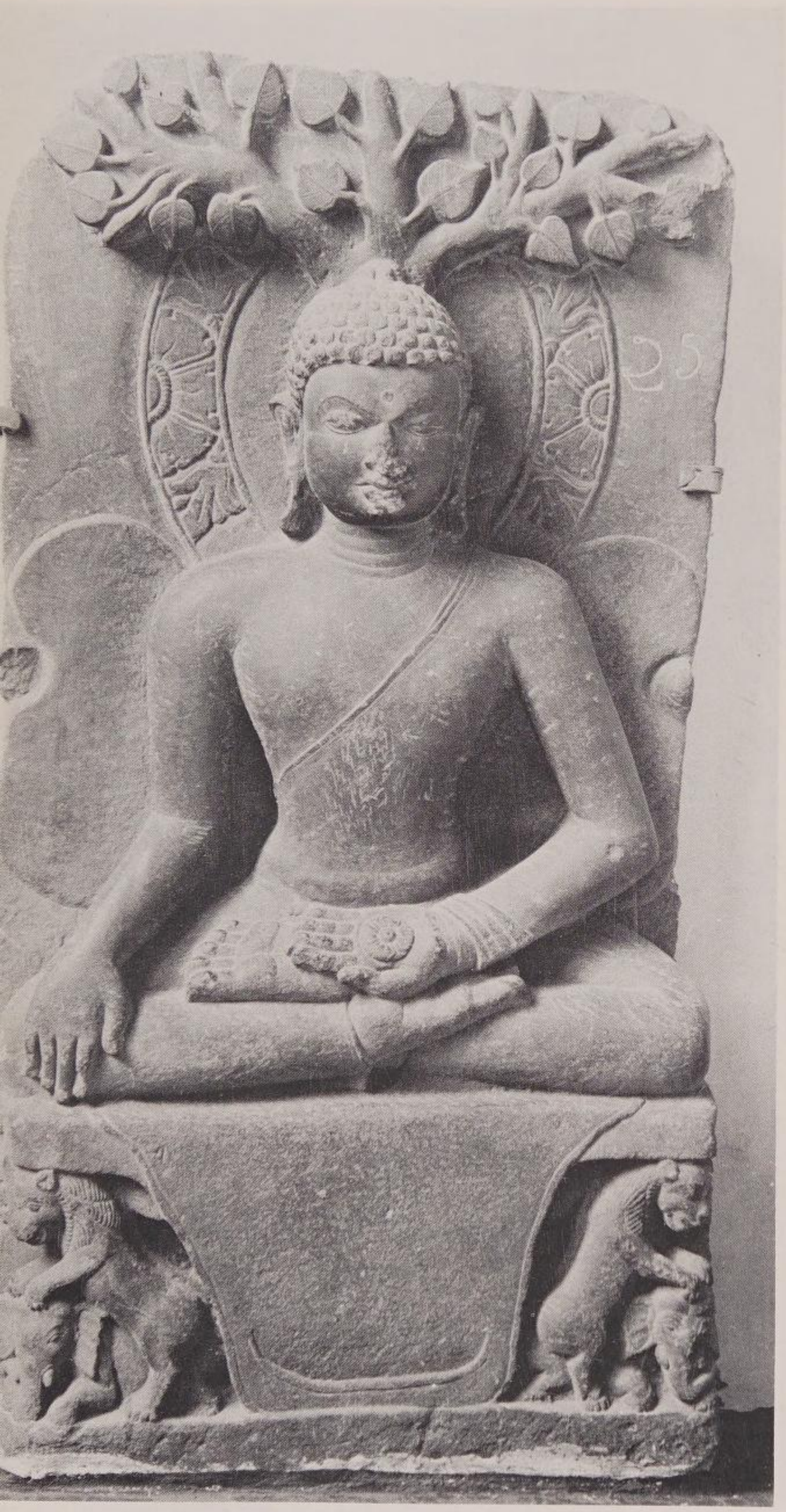


Plate 180. Buddha. From Tetrāwāṅ, Patna District. 39¼″ × 21″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25154. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 181. Buddha. Probably from Rājgir-Nālandā Area. British Museum, Acc. No. 1854, 2-14, 1. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 182. Ṛṣabhanātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District. 37½″ × 22″.

Plate 183. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District. 57″ × 24″.

Plate 184. Neminātha. In ruined temple on Vaibhāra Hill, Rājgir, Patna District. 53″ × 20″.

Plate 185. Umā-Maheśvara. Probably from Rājgir, Patna District. 20¾″ × 12¼″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 77. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 186. Umā-Maheśvara. Probably from Rājgir, Patna District. 32¼″ × 14¼″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 33. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 187. Kubera. From Rohoi, Patna District. 32½″ × 14½″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25114. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 188. Varāha. From Rājgir, Patna District. 46″ × 27″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 2692. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 189. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. From Begampur, Patna District. 49″ × 31″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25167. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

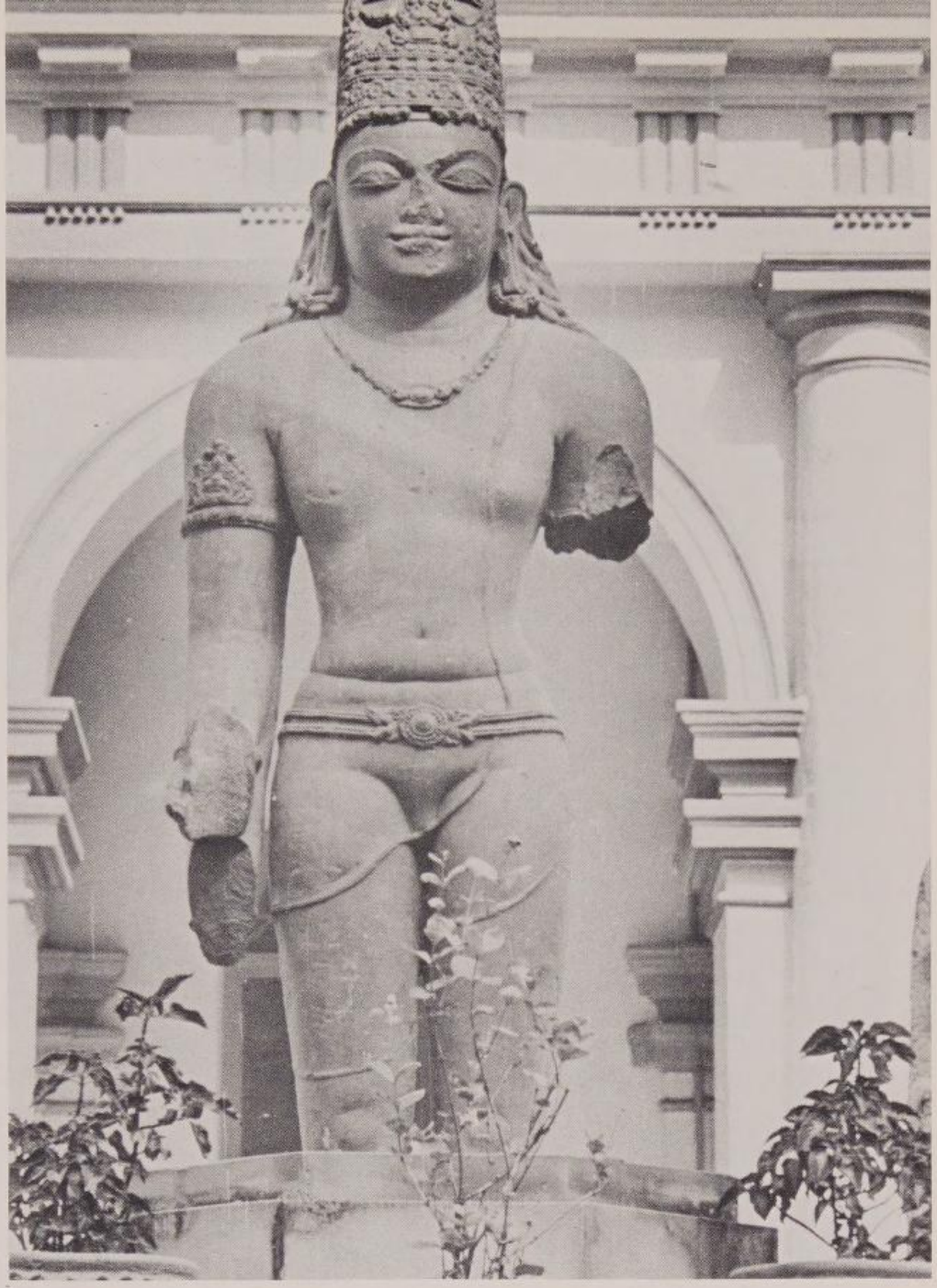


Plate 190. Viṣṇu. From Dāpthū, Gayā District. Indian Museum, Acc. No. 4039. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 191. Gadādevī. From Dāpthū, Gayā District. 33″ × 7″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 1702. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 192. Viṣṇu. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District. 57″ × 19″. Naradah Museum, Nawādā, Acc. No. 12. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology and Museums, Bihar.

Plate 193. Viṣṇu Bust. From Mahrāwāṅ, Gayā District. 24″ × 20¾″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 11264. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum. Photo courtesy of the American Institute of Indian Studies.

Plate 194. Sūrya. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. 40½″ × 16″. Indian Museum, Acc. No. A25189. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 195. Viṣṇu. From Aphsaḍ, Gayā District. Indian Museum, Acc. No. 4018. Reproduced courtesy of the Indian Museum.

Plate 196. Viṣṇu. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 197. Viṣṇu. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 198. Sūrya. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

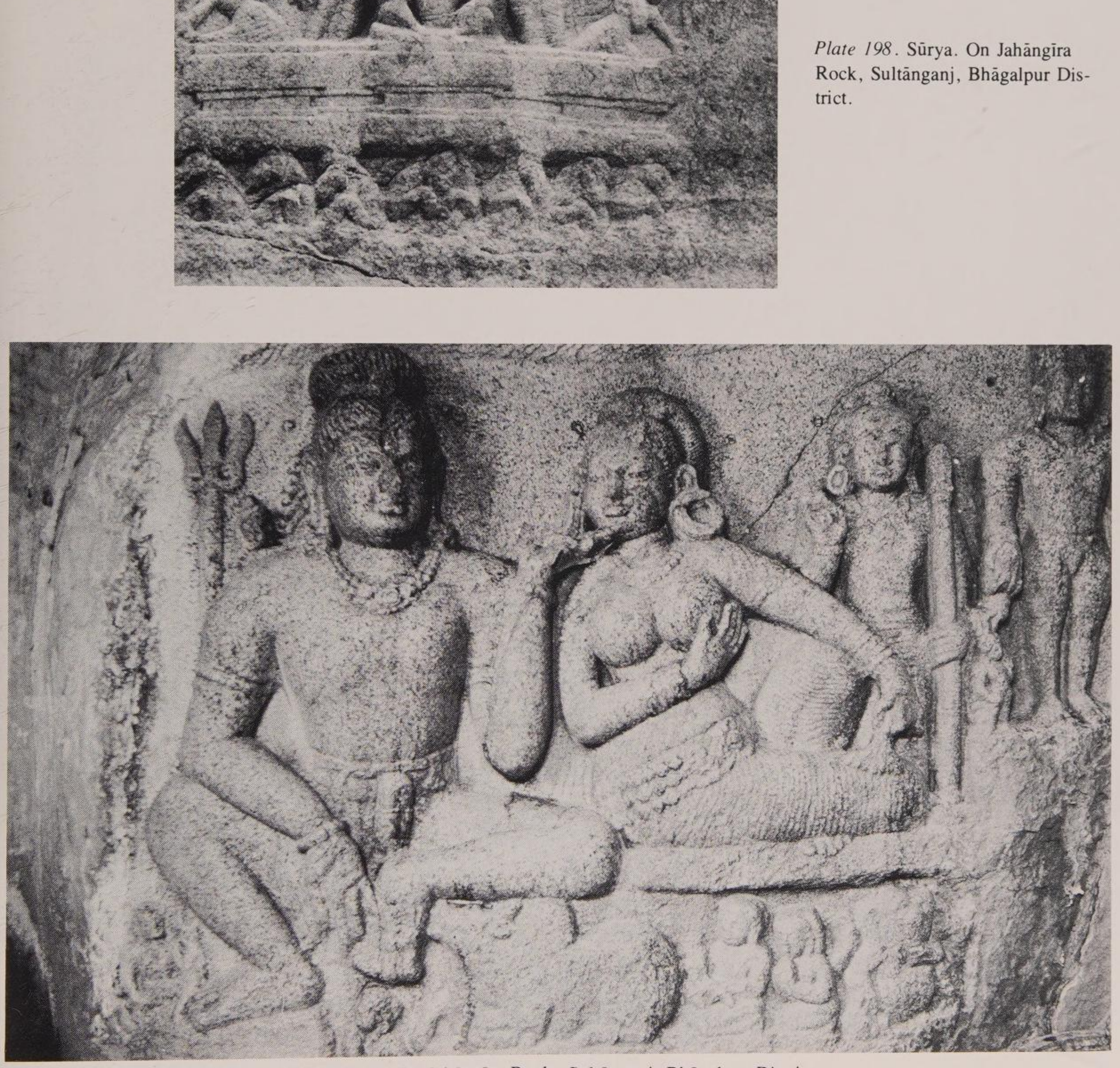


Plate 199. Umā-Maheśvara. On Jahāngīra Rock, Sultānganj, Bhāgalpur District.

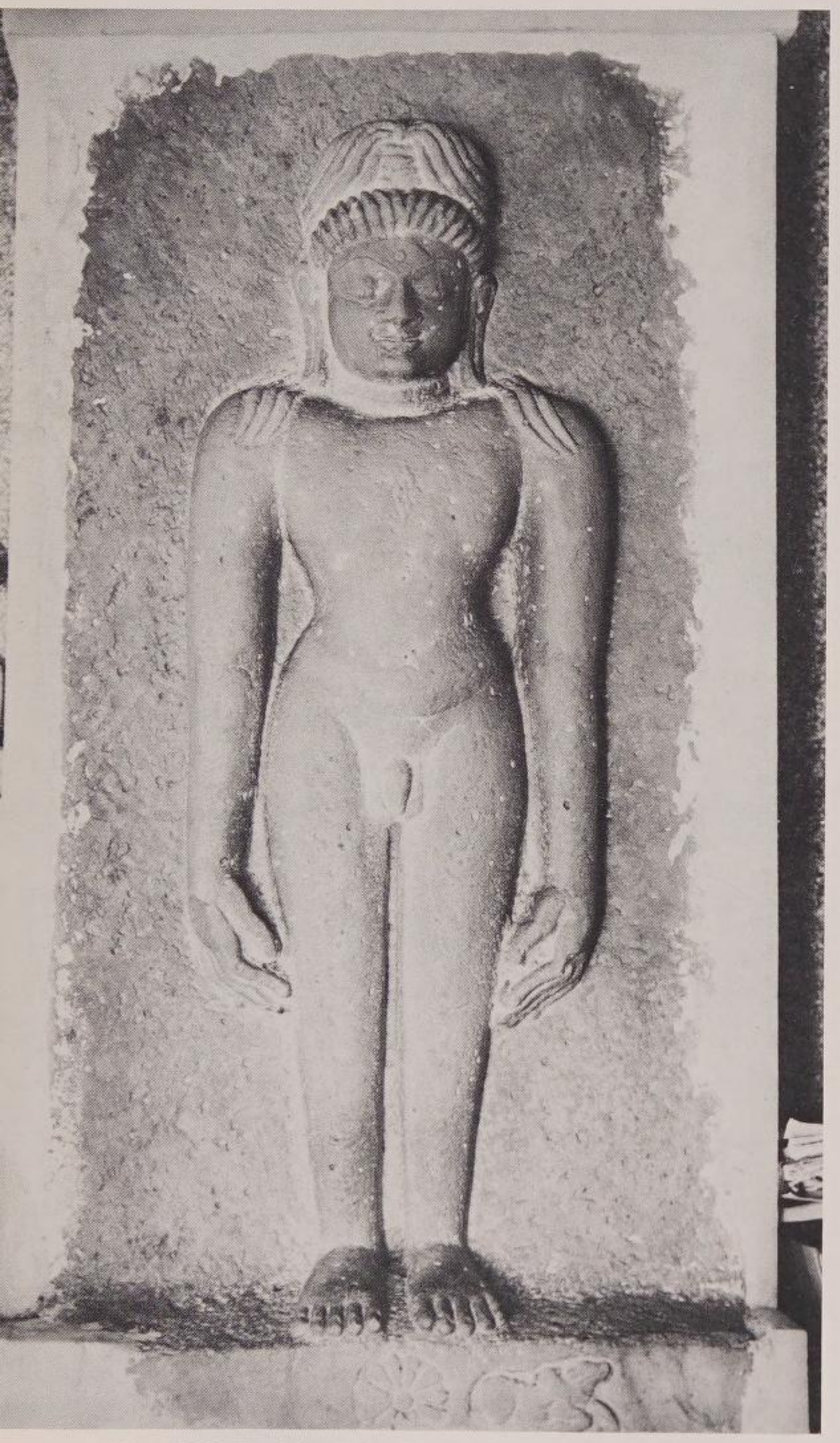


Plate 200. Rṣabhanātha. From Champāpur, Bhāgalpur District. 37″ × 17″. Now in Digaṁbara Jaina temple, Nathnāgar, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 201. Rṣabhanātha. From Champāpur, Bhāgalpur District. 44″ × 19″. Now in Digaṁbara Jaina temple, Nathnāgar, Bhagalpur District.

Plate 202. Sūrya. Provenance unrecorded. 39½″ × 18″. Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, Acc. No. B63 S36+. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Asian Art Museum of San Francisco, The Avery Brundage Collection.

Plate 203. Kārttikeya. Provenance unrecorded. British Museum, Acc. No. 1872, 7-1, 66. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 204. Caturmukha Liṅga. Provenance unrecorded. British Museum, Acc. No. 1880-24. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 205. Śiva Head. Provenance unrecorded. 20½" high. British Museum, Acc. No. 1872, 7-1, 109. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 206. Mātṛkā Indrāṇī. From Saraikela, Singhbhūm District. 35″ × 23″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10817. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 207. Mātṛkā Vaiṣṇavī. From Saraikela, Singhbhūm District. 35″ × 21″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10815. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 208. Dakṣa Prajāpati. Saraikela, Singhbhūm District. 39″ × 15¾″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10822. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 209. Stūpa of Vikramaśīla Mahāvihāra. General view from north, Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 210. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 211. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 212. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 213. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 214. Terracotta Panels of Vikramaśīla Stūpa. Antichak, Bhāgalpur District.

Plate 215. Stūpa of Somapura Mahāvihāra. General view from east, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 216. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 217. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 218. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District.

Plate 219. Terracotta Panels of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhāpur, Rājshāhi District. Dacca Museum, Acc. No. 1154. Reproduced courtesy of the Dacca Museum.

Plate 220. Balarāma. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District, Pāhārpur Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

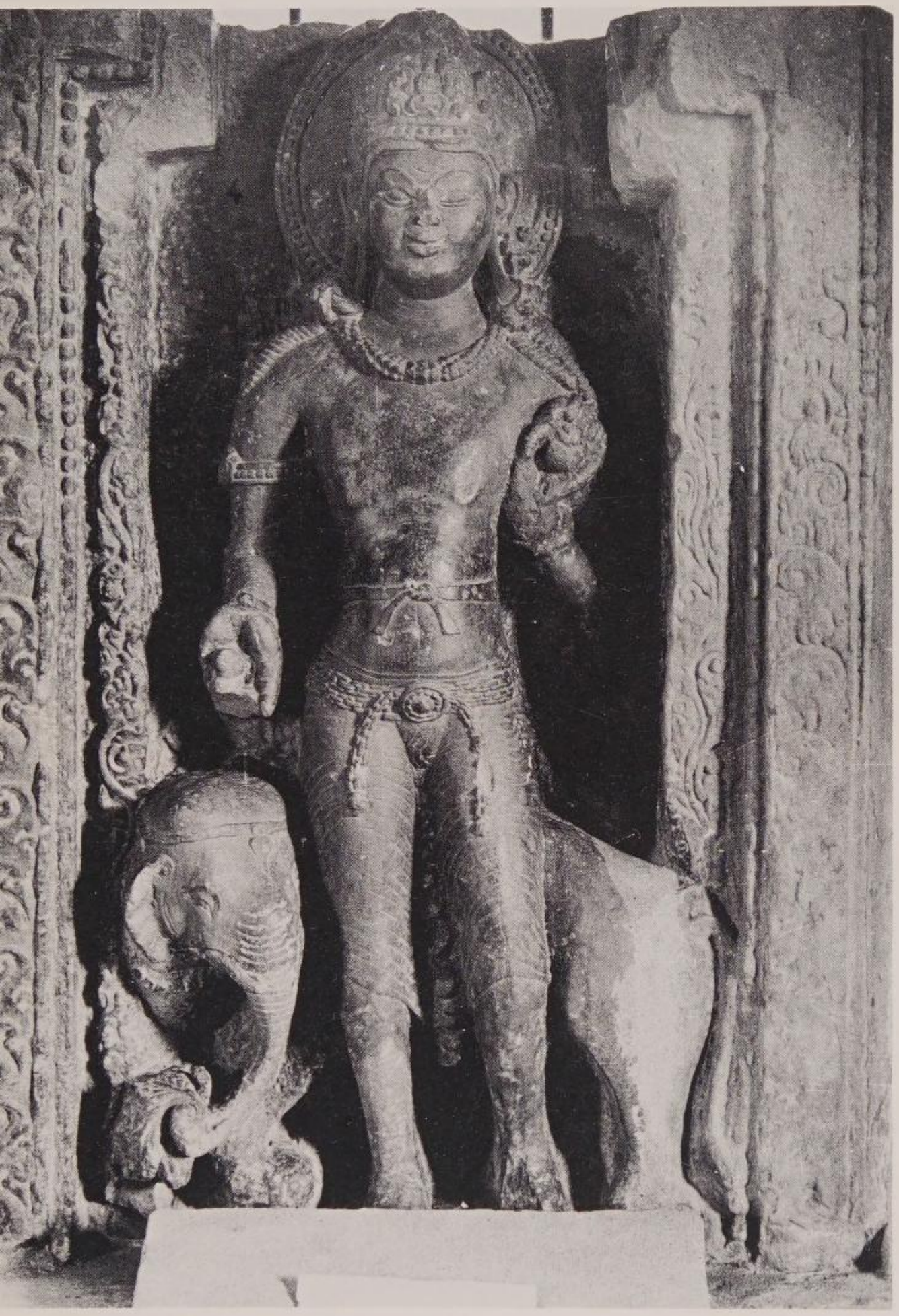


Plate 221. Indra. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District, Pāhārpur Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 222. Yāma. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa. Pāhārpur, Rājshāi District, Pāhārpur Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 223. Śiva. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District, Pāhārpur Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 224. Kṛṣṇa Fighting Keśi. Stone sculpture of Somapura Stūpa, Pāhārpur, Rājshāhi District, Pāhārpur Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 225. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 226. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Detail of Śikhara, Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 227. Temple IV of Begunia Group. Detail of Śikhara reliefs, Barākar, Burdwān District.

Plate 229. Bronze Avalokiteśvara. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. 5½″ × 2½″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 737. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 228. Gilt Bronze Bodhisattva. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. 34″ × 9″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 684. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 230. Bronze Viṣṇu. From Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. Victoria and Albert Museum, Acc. No. I.S. 20-1955. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Victoria and Albert Museum.

Plate 231. Bronze Viṣṇu. Probably from Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District. British Museum, Acc. No. 1955, 4-22. Photo and reproduction courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum.

Plate 232. Buddha. From Bāsu Bihār, Mahāsthāngaṛh, Bogra District, Mahāsthān Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 233. Gaja-Lakṣmī. From Namunja, Bogra District, Mahāsthān Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 234. Viṣṇu. From Khiarmahmūdpur, Dinājpur District. 45″ × 18½″. Dacca Museum, Acc. No. 1102. Reproduced courtesy of the Dacca Museum.

155 H(g)3

Plate 235. Viṣṇu. From Karaicharchar, Dinājpur District. 13″ × 8″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. H(g)3/155. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 236. Viṣṇu. From Gazole, Mālda District. 36″ × 16½″. Mālda Museum, Acc. No. 82. Reproduced courtesy of the Mālda Museum.

Plate 237. Garuḍāsana Viṣṇu. From Agradīgun, West Dināj̄pur District. 35¾″ × 20″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 12. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

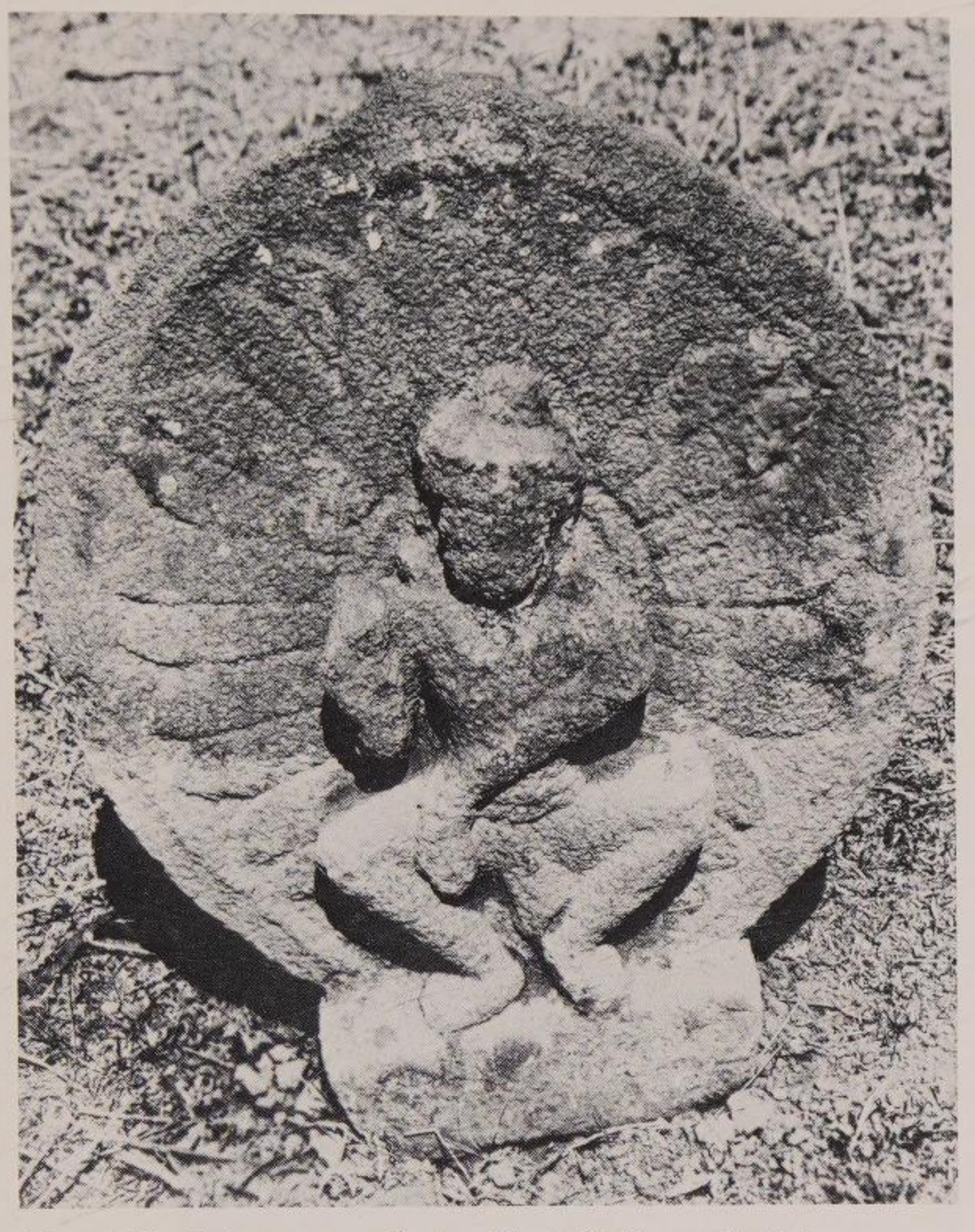


Plate 238. Cakrapuruṣa. Enda, West Dināǰpur District. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

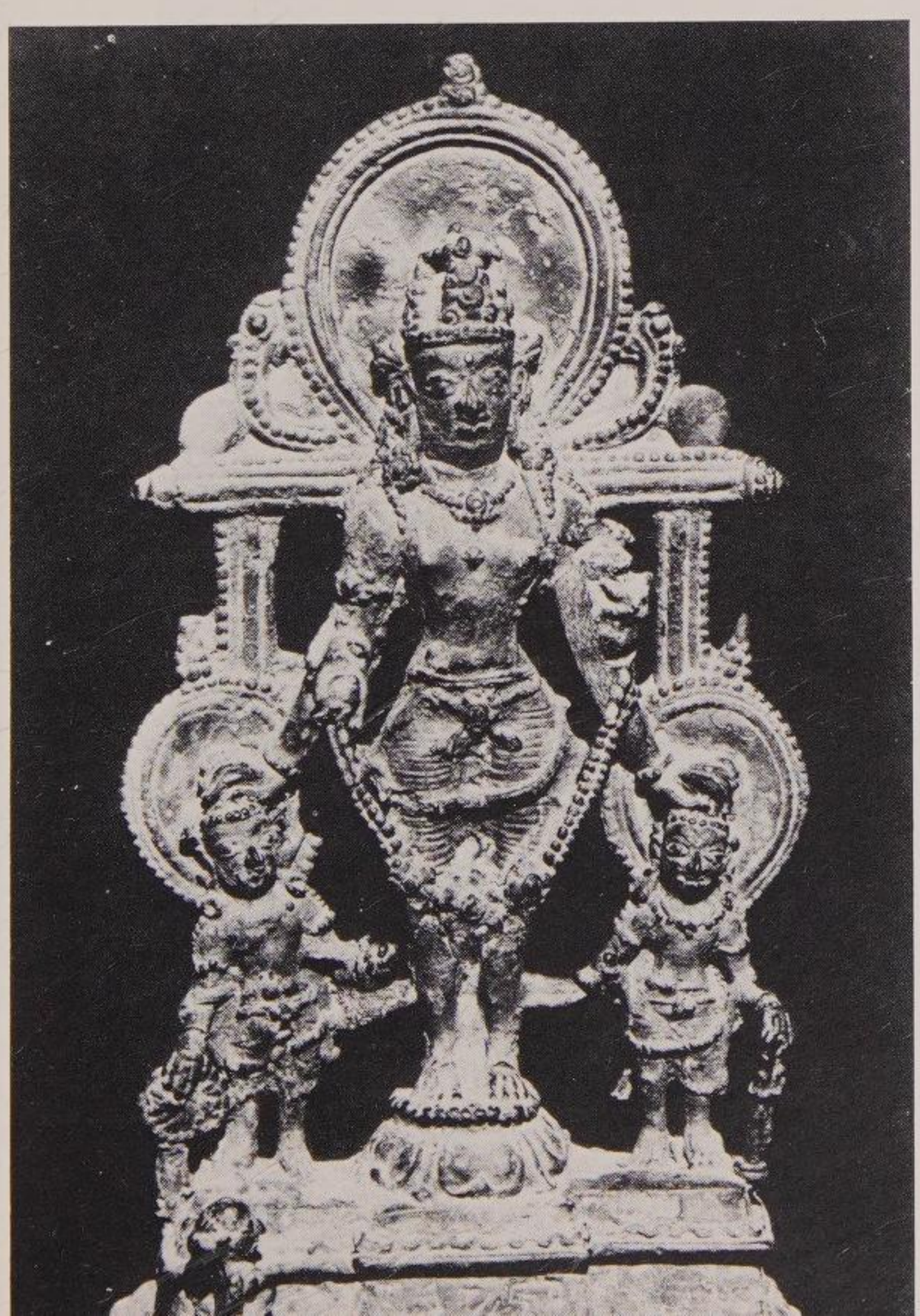


Plate 239. Bronze Viṣṇu. From Kumārpur, Rājshāhi District. 10¼″ × 5½″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 638. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum. Photo copyright Archaeological Survey of India.

Plate 240. Mahiṣamarddiṇī. From Gaṅgārāmpur, Mālda District. 33½″ × 14″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 1391. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 241. Door Jamb. From Sakrigali, Santal Parganas District. 31¼″ × 20″. Patna Museum, Acc. No. 10346. Reproduced courtesy of the Patna Museum.

Plate 242. Viṣṇu Torso. From Jalabandha, Murśidābād District. 31″ × 9¼″. West Bengal State Archaeological Gallery. Reproduced courtesy of the Directorate of Archaeology, West Bengal.

Plate 243. Hari-Hara. From Burdwān District. 19″ × 9¾″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 161. Reproduced courtesy of the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 244. Viṣṇu. From Khulna District. 7¼″ × 3½″. Varendra Research Museum, Acc. No. 500. Reproduced courtesy of the Varendra Research Museum.

Plate 245. Temple of Salban Vihāra. View from northwest, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

Plate 246. Terracotta Panels of Salban Vihāra Temple. Southeast corner of eastern projection, Maināmatī, Comilla District.

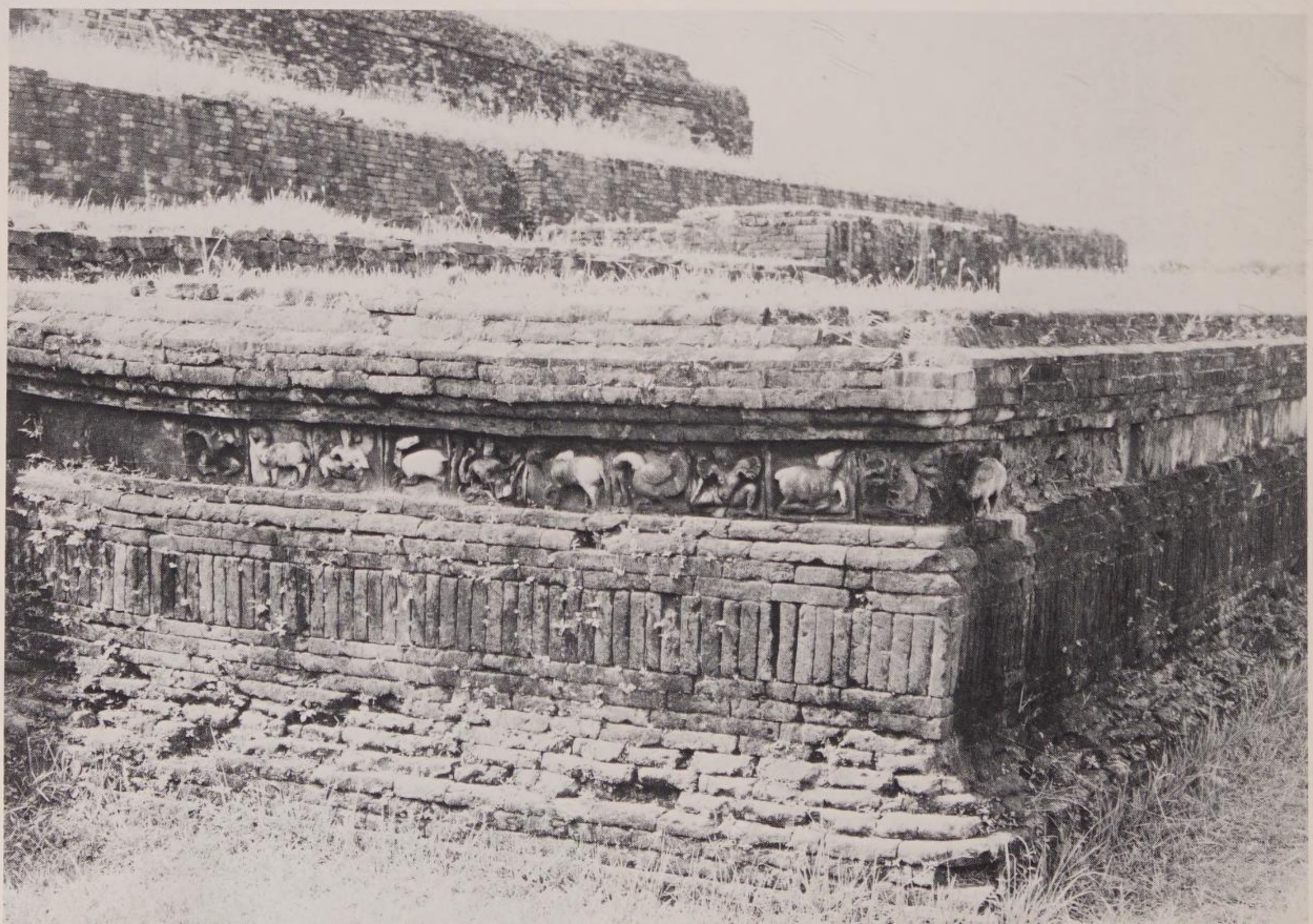


Plate 247. Bronze Mañjuśrī. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District, Maināmatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 248. Bronze Padmapāṇi. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District, Maināmatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 249. Bronze Mañjuśrī. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District, Maināmatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 250. Bronze Tārā. From Salban Vihāra, Maināmatī, Comilla District, Maināmatī Site Museum. Reproduced courtesy of the Department of Archaeology and Museums, Government of the People's Republic of Bangladesh.

Plate 251. Bronze Sitātapatrā. From Comilla District. Dacca Museum, Acc. No. 1.B (iv) a. Reproduced courtesy of Dacca Museum.

Plate 252. Bronze Śiva-Lokeśvara. From Barisal, Bakarganj District. 23¾″ × 9¼″. Asutosh Museum, Acc. No. 7. Reproduced courtesy of Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta University.

Plate 253. Bronze Lokanātha. Sylhet, Sylhet District. 32″ × 11″. Dacca Museum, Acc. No. 1124. Reproduced courtesy of Dacca Museum.